THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCXII.] AUGUST, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

THE REFUSAL OF CONFORMITY BY THE EJECTED MINISTERS, CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY:

BEING ONE OF THE COURSE OF LECTURES RECENTLY DELIVERED IN LONDON.

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[We have the gratification of announcing that this will be followed by others of the lectures delivered in this course commemorative of the Bicentenary of English Nonconformity. In the next number of the *Christian Reformer*, the lecture of the Rev. J. J. Tayler, on the Character of Richard Baxter, will be given.—Ed. C. R.]

Acts xv. 10: "Now, therefore, why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?"

There is no legitimate freedom within our National Church. It is an endowed sect, held straitly within by its narrowed lines of defence against encroachment or enlargement from without. The Church of England is immovable. It contemplates no possible progress: it desires and seeks none. There is no space within its limits for expansion, which, it is always feared, might break up and destroy it. The celebration of the present year recalls to Nonconformist thought the Act of Uniformity of 1662, by which chiefly this condition of things was established.

Meantime, unhappily, the Nonconforming churches subsist in hopeless alienation from this Established Church of the land. So far as public law is concerned, they are free; but they enjoy their freedom under an anomalous regulation of indulgence or toleration, and they are excluded from what is rightly dear to every lover of his country, the equal share in social privilege and the full enjoyment of all national religious rights. They are not on terms of equality with the Church established by law, and they are condemned to live under the social stigma of Dissent.

These differences may appear of small importance if we only recollect the past bitter persecutions of Nonconformity, and, in the haughty security of privilege, certain Churchmen may affect to slight the inequalities of which we complain; but, for us, the question stands differently when we ask, why should we have to submit to what we feel to be an injustice, an invidious distinction between ourselves and others, as though our conscientious convictions were of the nature of something evil and criminal?

Nor is it we alone who feel, or ought to feel, the wrong which the memory of the confessors of 1662 recalls. That was not among the periods in the history of our country on which the nation delights to dwell, abounding as it did in scenes of unprincipled and vicious flagrancy. Yet out of the struggles of despotism in the reign of Charles II., if only in reaction from them, we *did* gain *civil* liberty. But the battle of *religious* freedom had long after to be renewed. The too successful tendencies of that time favoured without exception the most complete subjection of the human soul to the forms of external law. In religious matters we are not equal before the law: that triumph of human and Christian rights has yet to be contended for. And it should not be by Dissenters alone. A just man shrinks from wrong, though it appears to advantage himself; and a wise Churchman may admit that it is not for the spiritual good of the English Establishment that it should involve and cast reproach unjustly and tyrannically, because undeservedly, upon the large body of Dissenters, to whom it allows no real means of escape from their present outcast position. Those who dislike the English State Church must of course resent the wrong which it inflicts upon them; but if we have no such feeling of disapproval, but desire rather to enjoy our proper privilege of national membership in it, the motive with us should be exceedingly strong that leads us to protest against the exclusive enactments which compel our continued Nonconformity. To these we ask attention, while we consider in them the violations which they involve of the principles of religious liberty.

There were in the Act of Uniformity of Charles II. two regulations which pressed with special force upon the ministers of the Presbyterian and Puritan party. One was directed in particular against their Presbyterian views, the other opposed them at every conceivable point in all their Puritan convictions. First, they must be re-ordained by some bishop if they had not already received episcopal ordination; and secondly, they must accept every word of the Book of Common Prayer without scruple or objection. But the Act was framed in a spirit of comprehensive rigour, for the avowed purpose of removing the whole party from the Church, and therefore nothing was omitted in it which could be required in order to make the submission of the clergy most abject and complete. It is desirable to understand on what grounds the Nonconformity of the Ejected Ministers was based. The party consisted of men of great varieties of opinion, and in their protests may be observed many shades of difference, but the Act was extremely wide and searching. It suffered none to escape. No compromise was left possible. They must become bound to everything, whether of greater or less importance.

The main provisions of the Act were five. Two of them

became speedily superseded, but they recall the history of the great Rebellion, and their introduction into the Act shewed plainly the spirit of vindictive politics in which the whole was framed. Ministers were required to abjure the oath which had been taken by the country generally a few years before in support of the Solemn League and Covenant; to declare that that oath had been unlawful, and that it had been imposed against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom. This portion of the Act was to continue in force for twenty years, by which time, it was thought, the strength of the party as a political body would have become exhausted.

With a like design of compelling them to repudiate their past revolutionary or reforming political acts as an important body in the State, the Presbyterians were required further, and in addition to their taking the general oath of allegiance, to subscribe the declaration that it was unlawful under any pretence to take up arms against the King. Sufficiently servile, one would have thought, and surely a somewhat harsh requirement to impose upon men who had contributed so much to the restoration of the exiled monarch. But the law is still more closely pointed against the antecedents of the once compact Presbyterian body. They had laboured in the beginning of the late struggle to establish constitutional rule by aid of the King's authority, and it had been in his name that they took arms against those whom he had commissioned to thwart them. Nearly all the earlier and wiser leaders of the Parliament had been of the moderate, liberal party that was now called Presbyterian, and the ministers were expected to declare their abhorrence of the constitutional principles upon which these men had acted. There was to be no alteration henceforth in the government in either the Church or the State. Moderate liberalism was proscribed by men who little conceived how strangely the rapid changes of the time were destined to throw ridicule upon their idle enactments against all possible change. This politic law became of course a dead letter at the new Revolution, twenty-seven years afterwards, which placed King William upon the throne.

Whatever they might have thought of these two political ordinances, and however readily they might have submitted to them in the actual humbled state of their once powerful party, the continuance of the Puritan ministers in the Church was not suffered to depend upon what might have been on their part a mere act of humiliation. There were amongst them indeed men whose *political* principles were not at the mercy of defeat, and who could not have been prepared to disown the share which they or their predecessors had taken in the endeavour to establish liberty upon the basis of constitutional rights; for they had been always monarchical: it was the Independents who set up the republic against them. But it was not chiefly upon such

grounds that they became Nonconformists. The repudiation was to go further and deeper. It was intended to overturn their most cherished religious principles. They were asked to confess that they had been hitherto usurpers and impostors in the position which they had held in the Church. They had been legally appointed to their ministry, and many of them during the time when episcopal ordination, however much they might have desired it, was no longer within their reach. They must, however, be re-ordained if the bishop's hands had not already been laid upon them, and they were ordered to declare, as if they were now for the first time about to take the charge of souls upon them, that they, who had long been in full orders as presbyters, felt called by the Holy Ghost to undertake the inferior office of the deacon, an office in which in any such sense they had no belief as consistent with the tenor of the Scriptures.

If this insulting requirement of re-ordination was a logical necessity of the High-Anglican theory of episcopal and apostolical succession, the fact might not unjustly be taken to afford an argument in its condemnation,—that this ecclesiastical system, re-appointed after an era of revolutions, could only preserve to the Church the services of these excellent men by subjecting them to a process of false swearing—for such it would truly have been—in reference to the duty which they were now expected to undertake anew and upon new grounds, as though all their previous devotion to the spiritual welfare of their parishioners had been an unauthorized and therefore a presumptuous intrusion. It may not be easy to say how far this precisian theory of episcopal ordination prevailed with some who voted in Parliament for the Act of Uniformity, but there was nothing in the character of either Clarendon or Sheldon which should make one think that they had framed the Act in any such priestly views. They were politicians, dealing, as they conceived, by what in those times would be called a "root-and-branch" method, with a troublesome reform element which might otherwise still disturb the fixed and servile order in Church and State which they desired to establish. It is easier at this day to defend their proceedings upon an assumed ground of fanatical High-church opinions, than it would be to prove that either of these men, or any large part of the majorities they led, acted really from such considerations.

Nor is it competent for their defenders to say that they desired nothing of the Puritan ministers beyond a guarantee for the future peace and homogeneousness of the Church in the new settlement of it now made. They secured this amply in another provision of the Act, which was not so gravely objected to, at least by many of the Puritan clergy. For there were amongst them a considerable number who would have submitted to the

episcopal rule without a murmur. Already they were Presbyterians rather in theory and in name than as very strongly upholding that discipline. They might have given therefore the promise of canonical obedience,—a quite sufficient bond for their peaceable future submission in the Church, had that been all that was desired. Indeed, it is easy to see that on this particular point in the new Act their opposition would have been but slight. They were, in truth, far more anxious to continue in the Church than they were to change the polity of the Church. And in all the subsequent efforts that were made for their return into the Establishment, they thought little of any difficulties upon this matter of the order of Church government. When, indeed, they were refused all compromise, and no further question remained of any possible reconciliation of the Nonconformists with the Church, those of the next generation who followed them found ample justification of their Nonconformity in the canons and in the Lay Church Courts. But these canons had not received the sanction of Parliament. They were not as a body of laws the law of the land, and the Lay Church Courts were only an evil in the distance. The only real question here was of submission to the bishops, and for this perhaps the majority of the so-named Presbyterians had been long preparing. Why could not this have sufficed? Why must they be required to subscribe their own condemnation as usurpers of the sacred office in which many of them had so long laboured with abundant tokens, as they believed, of the Divine blessing upon their work? What right had they to pronounce their own orders void, which they held themselves to have received according to the true laws of Christ's Church? Would it not have been in them a grave and reprehensible trifling with sacred things if they had assented to this nullification and censure of the past, this slight cast upon the Reformed Churches abroad, this cause of offence to those amongst whom they had ministered in holy things? It was a cruel demand to make of men who had undertaken the solemn charge of the ministerial office under so grave a sense of responsibility; with whom it had been ever a point of principle to believe that they had received that charge almost as if at the very hand of the great Head of the Church, and in the presence of a people whom they had instructed to revere their office upon the sole ground of the fit and conscientious character with which they filled it. This terrible provision of the Act completely answered its end. It was purposed to cut them off, and it did in fact create one of their greatest difficulties.

These were temporary measures: the remaining provision of the Act of Uniformity affects us all more closely to this hour. They were obliged to declare, as every clergyman still declares within two months of his taking orders in the Church, unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything *prescribed* by,—nor only

so,—to everything *contained* in, the Book of Common Prayer; statements of fact as well as inferences of doctrine, even though there were proved to subsist there things inconsistent with each other, or antagonist dogmas, or mistranslations and other manifest errors. They must also subscribe *ex animo* (every provision was made against non-natural subscription or other possible evasions of expediency) "that the Book of Common Prayer and of ordaining bishops, priests and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God." Dr. Edmund Calamy says justly, in speaking of the nice and curious comprehensiveness of this declaration and subscription,—"Words could scarce be devised by the wit of man more full and more significant, whereby they might testify their highest justification and commendation of every point and syllable, every rite and ceremony, every matter and thing contained in the whole book, and in every page and line of it. A man might almost be tempted to imagine that the framers of this imposed declaration and subscription had had this Book of Common Prayer dropping down among them immediately from Heaven, and that they looked upon it as nothing else but a continued oracle from first to last." And care was taken in 1663, a care which has never since been relaxed, that the subscription should continue in its utmost and most punctilious stringency.

Respecting the general principle of subscription as a necessary and fatal hindrance to the free rights of the conscience, something must presently be said: we are only speaking now of this extraordinary stringency. How is it that the English clergy are more utterly enslaved in this bondage of subscription than any other clergy in the world? It would indeed appear strange, had we not under our hands these confused pages of the national history to explain it. The English Church is now what it was two centuries ago, and what it then became resulted from its vindictive triumph over the Puritan reformers. Just as the successive creeds of the earlier orthodox Church were framed to consolidate the securities of orthodoxy as against all heretics and reformers, and each succeeding theological debate added something to the stereotyped forms of faith, so was this chief requirement of the Act of Uniformity the residuum of the long and varied stir of reformatory elements within and without the Church, which the Restoration under Charles precipitated and hoped to leave settled for ever.

It is not, let us here say, in any spirit of opposition to the English National Church that we remark this occasion of its most tyrannical law of subscription; for it is felt to be such by the members of that Church whenever the spirit of a new religious life awakens amongst them. We would gladly see that law repealed or modified. It is no satisfaction to us to know what evil fruit it bears, what hypocrisy, what exclusive jealousies, what narrowing

and obstruction of the resources of improvement and investigation of truth. The law was made against the Puritans; why should it be continued in detriment to the best interests of the modern Church? This was not the first Act of Uniformity, and what should now hinder a return to the older and more moderate and simple rule? Comprehension for ourselves we do not ask, however much we might desire it as a possibility, but we do cherish the interests of piety and learning, though in a Church we may never enter, and would support for the sake of truth and honesty, for the sake of that Church itself, every effort which may be made to give it greater purity and freedom.

But if to us this law of subscription appears so much a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, what must it have seemed to the men against whose dearest convictions the law was distinctly framed? They could not declare that there was in the Prayer Book nothing contrary to the Word of God; they could not express assent to all that the book contained. They disputed its statements, some of which they found were not true; they dissented from its opinions about certain rites and ordinances; they could not believe all its doctrines, as they objected to many practices which it enjoined. We cannot here go over the whole ground of their difficulties. It would appear as though we aimed an attack against the modern English Church, and from the point of view of modern Nonconformity; whereas, in truth, we only exclaim against the bondage of the Church which keeps us out of it, its severe law of subscription. We therefore indicate only in briefest form what were the difficulties in the Book of Common Prayer which the Presbyterian ministers could neither fail to see, nor overget.

Their objections were for the most part similar to those which we are ourselves compelled to make against the English Service-book, quite independently of any questions of orthodox or heterodox doctrine. They objected to pronounce a child regenerated and purged from original sin in baptism, and they thought it an evil and a mockery to substitute sponsors in place of the child's natural guardians, to answer for it at the font as though it were truly confessing sin and promising amendment of life. They could not allow that in the service for the dead it was right to utter over all persons alike, whatever their character might have been, the formula of the Christian hope of the blessed and immortal life. They were not prepared to read lessons from the Apocryphal books as if they were the Word of God. They believed for the most part in the Athanasian Trinity, but disliked the Creed of that name. Many of them were disposed to think that the Father would mercifully receive all persons who honestly lived according to the best light which they were able to obtain, though they might not be of conformed opinion to these standards of orthodoxy. They also

found in the sign of the cross made by the priest in baptism an occasion of superstitious error amongst the people, as was the case even more with the practice of kneeling to receive the sacrament, a practice which was known to have originated in the Papal adoration of the Host.

These were among the chief of the Puritan objections to the yielding assent *ex animo* to the Book of Common Prayer as not in anything contrary to Holy Scripture. The diligent and conscientious reader might multiply such remark of inconsistencies between the two to almost any extent. If it should seem to any that the Puritans attached too great importance to such things as attitudes and vestments and outward signs, I answer that at this time it was not so; but even if it had been, it was quite natural. Puritanism had begun, not in opposition to the English Episcopal Church, but to the Church of Rome. It was a protest against the imperfect reforms of Elizabeth. In any case, it remains true that to these men all such things had long been matters of principle; they could not hold their objections as mere disputable opinions, nor were they suffered by their opponents to do so. If they looked into the canonical regulations in order to interpret by these, as they knew the bishops would do, the proper spirit in which the Prayer Book was to be understood, they found all holders of their views to be excommunicated. He who does not believe the Thirty-nine Articles to be according to Scripture, let him be put out of the Church; or who does not agree with everything in the Service-book, or who objects to any of the Church rites, or doubts the scriptural character of the forms of episcopal ordination,—all these are excommunicated, and the clergyman must not give the sacrament to those who do not kneel, nor offer it to any of another parish than his own. He must wear the surplice or be suspended, and must baptize all who come; and, by the 38th canon, if a minister repented of his subscription, or omitted any of the prescribed forms and ceremonies, he was to be first suspended, then excommunicated, and then deposed from the ministry. It was the Church, therefore, that raised certain matters of lesser moment into equal value with all else, by making them conditions of communion in her body, establishing terms of communion which the ministers knew might and would have the effect of shutting out many of their most conscientious and religious parishioners; while yet so lax was acknowledged to be, as must be ever, the discipline of such a Church as ours, that even the sacrament could not be refused to men of known evil life, which was denied to the pious and good man who held it a superstition to kneel in its reception.

Who can deny that it was an act of presumption, an arrogant pretension, to fix terms of communion with the Church which were neither to be found in the apostolic writings, nor could be

justified on grounds of Christian charity. They took away the keys of the kingdom of heaven. They neither entered themselves, and those that would have entered in, they hindered. What more sufficient argument could be adduced against a national ecclesiastical Establishment by those who desired to find one, if they must admit the necessity for its foundation on such schismatic and exclusive principles? It was therefore no idle scruple which induced the Puritan ministers to decline the tyrannic subscription which oppressed the people in their pastors, and which from that day to this has given to the Church of England the anomalous and inconsistent character which it bears.

We are not at present concerned to characterize further the Act which drove them out. In this intended effect is surely its sufficient condemnation. Sheldon feared that some of them would conform. "We will make them knaves," he said, "if they do." There was no help for them as honest men, and it was quite in harmony with the professed object of the Act, that the amended Prayer Book to which they were to declare their unfeigned consent was only issued a few days before the 24th of August. Very few, it was said, of the 7000 clergy who continued in the service of the Church could have even seen the book which their declarations of that day endorsed. It were indeed perverse to charge the 2000 with vain scrupulousness in what they did, when all the highest interests of the Church were sacrificed with the notorious design to exclude them.

When the day arrived which was to prove the sterling character of the men, they listened not to the natural suggestions of a time-serving expediency. They heeded manfully the commands of conscience. They interpreted them as a call from God to go out from a corrupted and paganized Church, and they went out, to use the touching words of scripture, "not knowing whither they went." It is with this deed of theirs that we are now concerned, clearly, as it appears to us, the right thing for them to have done, though it could not have appeared to them a matter so easily determined. For there were many considerations which might have kept them back, considerations which even yet are held by many to be sufficient to justify a conformity to the Church, which no human conscience, one would think, could intelligently and fully approve. For example, the subscription seemed to nullify itself; it was absurdly wide and inconsistent. The Act was a political Act; might not religious scruples be set aside in favour of civil order? Many of the points involved must seem to men generally too trifling to form grounds of so grave a separation as their Nonconformity would involve. And might not the spirit rise above all difficulties of mere form, and their subscription be understood to mean only a general support of the Church, without implying belief in all its Articles? Further was the grand consideration of their calling

to a work of usefulness. How could they resign all this without reflecting that they might perchance be after all in error, in putting in the high place of the conscience their own mere scruples and opinions? It was not so easy as it may seem to us, for men surrounded by endeared families dependent upon their labours, and probably in many instances unable to appreciate their difficulties, to discover the marked line of duty so clearly that there should be no misgiving.

We do not affect to ascribe to them any kind of preternatural virtue in what they did. Others have acted substantially in the same manner to this day. They were our own ancestors in Nonconforming principle. But when we reflect what evil consequences would have resulted from their conforming, we thank God that He gave them the courage to be true in a time of exceeding trial. Their enemies well knew the strength of the ground of scruple on which they chose to attack them. It was of the very essence of the Puritan religion. That had been its weakness, its cause of unacceptance with the people at large; it was to become henceforth its title of glory. The greatest virtue of the Puritans had ever been their conscientiousness, the virtue which was now to receive its brightest illustration. They knew the influence which their example would exert upon their flocks, and all the evil to the cause of God which any defection from their duty at this solemn crisis would produce. They therefore dissented in the fear—it was perhaps their most prevailing motive—lest in conforming they should be doing a wrong, especially to the souls of others. They would not act so as to cause an occasion of offence to arise in the conscience of the weaker brethren; and thus, as they refused to conform from a worthy pastoral motive, the path of their duty became clear before them. They made the sacrifice for others' sake perhaps more generally than for their own, a spirit which ennobled their deed. It was thus that scruple, if it must be so called, became converted into lofty and dignified principle above all reclamation of modern casuists, by whom the distinct line of severance between the right and the wrong in the reverential worship and practice of truth has been too often painfully ignored.

Can any think that these men were factious in what they did, or wilfully schismatic and sectarian, who acted in this solemn spirit of religious fear, believing that they must obey God rather than men? They only pleaded for concessions which they had the full right to expect. It is painful to think of the violation of the most sacred promises which the passing of the Act of Uniformity involved. The question of these concessions again and again recurred, and all the noblest and best men in the Church would have gladly made them. It is quite a modern characteristic of the Church of England that there should be no considerable party within it to desire its improvement and ex-

pansion. But the bigoted and conservative section, backed by an immense force of popular ignorance and degradation, resisted always successfully the least demand of reformation. Yet the excluded ministers hoped on to the last for comprehension. They longed and waited to return into the Church which had so gracelessly expelled them. They had no difficulties about a National Church. Their traditions were in its favour. But they asked naturally the question which we ask still,—what national character can a Church truly bear which is not the real Church of the nation, but only of one dominant sect,—a Church which by its restrictions can never become the shelter, as a National Church should surely be, of all honest Christian convictions? We are not discussing at this moment any question of State Churches, or we might be prepared to shew that it was an error in statesmanship on the part of Clarendon and the Parliament to have so limited and fettered the established religion by their close law of subscription. If religion be, as we believe, the life and soul of a nation's purity and force, it should be nurtured for the nation's sake in the manner best suited to its free growth. But Christianity is essentially a religion of individual convictions, which must be by the nature of the case left free, the most unfit religion to be established by a stringent law of subscription, a religion which is in fact dead if it be not upheld in a practical and catholic spirit. The State injures itself when it maims the free development of its religion. There may be a powerful influence of religion perceptible in every department of a state which yet supports and favours no class of opinions above another, and all the sects might recognize their law of duty towards a government which protected alike all the individuals of which they were composed in the maintenance of their conscientious opinions; or we may conceive a State Church sufficiently practical in its tests to secure the best fruit from all opinions, while yet abstaining from the exclusive patronage of dogmas which must more or less change with the advances of general enlightenment. Such was the ideal of the Presbyterians whom the Act of Uniformity excluded; the other view was the view of the Independents, with whom in the first instance the ejected clergymen had little sympathy. They were driven closely together in the succeeding persecutions, but the Presbyterians retained for the most part their principle of a comprehensive, latitudinarian Church, and it ultimately dissolved their connection with the Independent Nonconformity. They divided from them on the very ground upon which they had been compelled to leave the Establishment, the simple ground of antagonism to compulsory subscription. They had been free within the Church, they resolved to continue free without it; and while the Independents drew closer the bonds of orthodoxy, the Presbyterian body pre-

served their free trusts and their abiding faith in the living power of truth as its own sufficient defence.

Therefore it is that we justly and most chiefly honour them. We have followed the light as they would have followed it—as indeed in their degree they did—and our religious convictions differ greatly from the views which they for the most part held. Yet through the whole period that has intervened between us, we recognize in their churches the guiding principle of freedom and of trust in truth by which both they and we may most truly, we venture to think, be characterized. Their history teaches us how they made progress—ever, as we read, in the direction at which we have ourselves arrived. This is indeed a point of particular interest to us, and, as we think, to the time in which we live, to observe what stimulus to research and enlightenment their steadfast freedom gave, especially if we may also judge from their history what would have been the greater advances of truth in the mind of the nation generally, could they have continued in the Church unfettered by the bonds of subscription.

We remark with pleasure that in the writings of these men and of their immediate successors may be found the ample defence of all that we now understand by religious liberty. It is, they said, the inalienable right of every honest man to inquire, to hold, to profess, to teach, what he conscientiously finds to be true. No conclusion must be compulsorily anticipated, no premium of outward rewards or honours offered for any result, nor any obloquy, much less any stigma of criminality in the eye of the law, attached to any honest judgment a man may form. Truth is only to be gained in the free research of many minds, possessed of the full power of correcting each other by free discussion. If a man is known to be an honest thinker, it is a violation of his right of thought to impeach before the law, or even at the bar of our own prejudices, the results of his research, however little we may approve of or like them.

These plain principles of religious liberty guided our Presbyterian predecessors. Clear as they seem in the statement, they are in practice readily evaded; for bigotry is of tenacious life, and it is a necessary duty that we perform in seeking every occasion to recall the laws of the pure worship of truth. I will only ask you now to observe how in the first place our fathers gained their freedom, and then how rapidly under the law of liberty they progressed.

The earlier Presbyterians as a body were intolerant and exclusive. It was the spirit of the times, and it was an assumption which nearly every party made, that the State must regulate its religion by fixed law and penalty. They learned in their own time of suffering the wiser lesson to which they faithfully adhered. The enlightened consequences of their free position you

know, and we may pardonably congratulate ourselves in observing how inevitable this result has always proved. Free trusts have ever led the way of progression. The darknesses of past belief are scattered in the free air of day.

Let us not think, however, that the whole body of the Ejected Ministers required this enlightening and liberalizing service of adversity. From the beginning of the Puritan movement under Elizabeth, and even earlier, the efforts of the Reformers may be distinctly marked as directed first against Popish vestments and other like matters which the English Church retained. Afterwards they strove for the Presbyterian discipline; and again, after that, against the Arminian doctrines of Churchmen of the school of Laud. But at the period of their ejectment they were for the most part more or less Arminian. They cared little now for the question of surplices; and they would have gladly consented to a modified episcopacy. Excepting in doctrinal opinion, they had become not greatly different from the Nonconformists of the present day, and the reforms which they asked for were, as we have seen, of the same kind as we also desire to see adopted in the Church. But they were made to suffer all the obloquy of all that had been done by all the Puritans who had preceded them, and, in the common opinion, whoever desired to reform the Church was classed as a Presbyterian.

Happily, they retained, though in forms which ever tended to a higher purification and enlargement, their simple trust in the Word of God. This was the key of their whole advance, which had at first restrained them within the limits of what is now called proverbially a Puritanic strictness. They believed in the Scripture in the letter; they learned afterwards to hold the same high and ennobling faith in the spirit. And thus were they the defenders of religious liberty. Their doctrine of the guiding power of the Scripture as the Spirit interpreted it to each believer, became the fullest assertion of the rights of the individual conscience, in opposition to the Anglican theory of the binding authority of outward law and tradition. It is a doctrine which leads to thought, as thought moves ever onwards, free and therefore progressive. And it is to the highest honour of these martyrs of truth and freedom that they should have been constituted in the Divine Providence the heralds of spiritual liberty and enlightenment, because they had proved faithful to their religion in an hour of exceeding temptation. Let us thankfully learn of them this great and permanent lesson, that in the proportion in which we value religion shall we earnestly strive to secure it in enlightened liberty. For we shall never endure to see in slavish fetters the truth we truly honour, nor patiently suffer religion, the unspeakable gift of God's love to mankind, to be still converted basely into a yoke such as neither our fathers nor we have been able or deserved to bear.

THE STATE PAPERS.*

Probably no European nation possesses a richer mine of historical and biographical knowledge than England in its voluminous collections of manuscript papers stored up, more or less carefully, in our public offices. They spring from three principal sources, viz., the offices of the Secretaries of State for the Home, Colonial and Foreign departments. The Papers which emanate from the first of these three departments, and which give their chief interest to the Calendars now in course of publication, are technically denominated the Domestic Papers.

As early as the year 1578, the State-Paper Office was established, and Dr. Wilson, a civilian, was appointed the first Keeper. That office continued its functions until the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria. Then the Record Act was passed, and the State-Paper Office has subsequently formed a branch of the Record department. By an order of Council dated March 5, 1852, the custody of the State Papers was entrusted to the Master of the Rolls as Keeper of the Public Records.

The words "State Papers" may scare the general reader by suggesting the idea of documents as dry and formal as some red-tape underling whom he may have chanced to know. But under the Tudors and the Stuarts, the State Papers of England assume a most miscellaneous character, and are often instructive and sometimes sufficiently amusing. This is the consequence in part of the freedom of the English character, and in part of the attempts of successive governments to curb and restrain it. Long before the theory of civil liberty was perfected in the English constitution, the people practised an unmistakable licence of speech respecting public affairs and the doings of kings and statesmen. The abominable system of espionage introduced by the ecclesiastical courts and too readily countenanced by successive statesmen, filled the offices of Chancellors and Secretaries of State with the most extraordinary narratives, which, if they did not always speak truth, yet may now disclose to us much novel information respecting the habits and ideas of our forefathers. Mr. Froude, speaking of the spy system introduced by the ecclesiastical authorities in England, describes them as "encouraging servants to be spies on their masters, children on their parents,

* Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, 1547—1580, preserved in the State-Paper Department of H.M. Public Record Office. Edited by Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A., under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the Sanction of H.M. Secretary of State for the Home Department. Pp. 800. London—Longman and Co. 1856.

Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Charles I., 1631—1633. Edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A. Pp. 703. 1862.

Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Charles II., 1661—1662. Edited by Mary Everett Green. Pp. 749. 1861.

Ibid., 1663—1664. Pp. 800. 1862.

neighbours on their neighbours." "The country was covered with a ready-made army of spies, who, with ears ever open, were on the watch for impatient and disaffected language." In the State Papers we find for more than a century and a half the records of the espionage to which a tyrannical government loves to resort. Nor was this the only source of diversified interest in the State Papers. So frequent were the changes and reverses of parties and leading statesmen, that the trusted favourite of to-day, to-morrow is suspected, and is the next day a prisoner. The iron hand of official power pounces immediately on his papers, domestic and personal as well as documentary, and not seldom they were retained in the cabinet of the Secretary of State, and thus became national property. In the Preface to the Catalogue of Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII., Mr. Brewer, their very intelligent editor, writes:

"The entire diplomatic correspondence of the reign was originally deposited in the Chapter House, Westminster, in H. M. Treasury of the Exchequer; but among the documents there relating to the political history of the times, many letters and private memoranda were preserved, detailing the most secret history of the King's ministers. Not only the property of Wolsey, Cromwell, Lord Lisle, and other noblemen, but their papers and correspondence, were confiscated, on their disgrace, to the King's use. No distinction was observed between official and private documents; between drafts, despatches, memoranda intended for the Council table, and letters on personal matters and domestic expenditure. Even the escritoires of the ladies were not exempted from this legal confiscation. Whatever in the opinion of the law officers of the Crown might possibly furnish matter for the impeachment of their husbands, was inexorably seized to the King's use; consequently bills for ribbons, shoes and millinery, receipts for apple pies, salves and medicated waters, are sometimes found in grotesque juxtaposition with papal bulls or instructions to plenipotentiaries."

The great value of such papers, as illustrating both history and biography, is manifest. When alluding to the long series of volumes in which Mr. Lemon has calendared the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., Mr. Froude remarks: "It is impossible to speak in too high terms of this publication; no person is in a position to form an independent opinion of the King or of his ministers who has not studied it; and it not only furnishes the key to the history of these islands, but for the years over which it extends it contains the most complete account of the state of Europe generally which is extant in the English language."

The careful preservation and judicious arrangement of the State Papers have borne no proportion to their intrinsic value. Documents relating to the same periods, and often to the same persons and to identical transactions, have been separated. Some are found in the Rolls House, others in the State-Paper Office, others in the British Museum. Others, again, are found

in collections over which the Government has no control, such as the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries, or those of Oxford and Cambridge. Others have strayed into private hands. A living collector purchased by public auction a series of historical papers which are in fact the missing links in a correspondence between the English Council and Cardinal Pole. The main portion of that correspondence is preserved in the Rolls House. Sir Robert Cotton was enabled by some unknown machinery to introduce into his remarkable collection of MSS. many State Papers of the greatest interest. These, after undergoing many perils from damp and fire in Cotton House, Westminster, having been secured to the nation, were finally deposited in the British Museum.

This dispersion of documents causes great embarrassment to the historical inquirer. The writer already quoted says, "Under the late distribution between the three depositories, I have repeatedly discovered a group of interrogatories submitted to a State prisoner, in the Rolls House; the replies to them in the State-Paper Office; a resolution of Council in a private minute of a minister, in consequence of such reply, in the British Museum; or a letter from an emissary of the Government in the State-Paper Office; an important enclosure in the same letter in the Museum; the memoranda of measures which ensued among the Rolls House Miscellanies."

Happily this department is now under the regulation of one whose interest in historical inquiries is equalled by his freedom from official pedantry and his skill in bringing about practical reforms, Sir John Romilly, the learned and patriotic Master of the Rolls. Under his influence, the re-union of the *disjecta membra* of the State Papers is now being carried into effect, as far at least as relates to those portions of the series which belong to the nation.

The Calendars, to some of which we now invite our readers' attention, are catalogues of papers and documents, arranged and described in the order of time. The chronological arrangement is often necessarily conjectural, many of the original documents lacking a date. Their preparation and publication were warranted by a Royal Commission, under the sign-manual of Queen Victoria, bearing date January 25, 1840.

The Papers of the different reigns are for the most part entrusted to different editors, and as they finish their work it is published. When completed, they may be arranged in that strict chronological order which cannot be observed in the order of their publication.

We postpone altogether for the present the volumes relating to Henry VIII., in order that we may, together with the Calendars, notice "the Letters and Papers" relating to that reign, of which Mr. Brewer has just given us the first fruits in a bulky

volume of 1176 pages. We also postpone all reference to the reign of James I.

Turning, in the first instance, to the reign of Edward VI., the Papers of which are calendared by Mr. Lemon, we may remark that the Calendar is less interesting and useful than other volumes of the series from the extreme brevity of the notices. The index also is less distinct and characteristic than in other volumes. It would certainly aid the reader if an uniform system of indexing had been from the first established. What one editor gives under the head "Clergy," another gives under the word "Religion," &c. &c. Many of the papers described elucidate the intrigues of Seymour, Somerset and Northumberland. Of Seymour's secret marriage to the Queen Dowager (Katherine Parr), no trace appears in these State Papers till May, 1547, but that is less than four months after Henry's death. He had paid his addresses to her in her earlier widowhood as Lady Latimer. On Sept. 1, we find Somerset congratulating Seymour on the birth of "so pretty a daughter." Four days after, the Queen Dowager dies. The child was entrusted to the care of the Duchess of Suffolk, who writes in July, 1549, complaining of the burthen imposed upon her by the charge of the orphan and her need of an annual pension. As a widower, Seymour wooed the Princess Elizabeth, and his ambitious intrigues presently brought him to the block. His brother, the Protector, signed his death-warrant, and his nephew, the young King Edward VI., notes his death in his journal without any expression of natural feeling. Such was the fate of the husband of a Queen and the uncle of a King!

Soon after the death of Henry VIII., we find Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, writing to Sir William Paget, the Secretary of State, asking his interference in a singular rivalry. The Bishop proposes to celebrate a solemn dirge and mass for the late King. At the same time, "the players of Southwark are to have a solemn playe to try who shall have most resort, they in game, or I in earnest." The Church to which Gardiner belonged had always been intolerant towards players, except to that not small company of them whose sole manager has been the Bishop of Rome.

The first name given in 1547 of persons licensed to preach is Hugh Latimer. In a letter of Bishop Ridley to Somerset, Latimer is described as having been educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge. This contradicts the story current in his biographies that he was of Christ's College. The Coopers, in the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, properly state that this is "very doubtful." We have the testimony of Archbishop Parker that Latimer was a Fellow of Clare Hall. Candlemas 1509-10 is the date given in the *Athen. Cantab.* of the fellowship.

The Duchess of Suffolk, writing to Cecil (June, 1552), wishes

to have sent a buck "to Mr. Latimer for the churching of his wife, but she must be churched without it." Only once again is Latimer's name mentioned in the Calendar, and then it is in 1558, in relation to his committal to prison, whence he was to come out to his glorious death.

Of the feudal system, with its abominable outrages on liberty, we have a specimen under the date June 14, 1548, in a licence granted by Edward VI. to the Bishop of Exeter to grant, together with the town of Crediton, the manor of Morchard Episcopi, "with all the natives and villains and their followers thereto belonging." If the eye of the Right Rev. Father in God, Henry of Exeter, should light on this passage, how will he moan over the faded glories of his diocese in general, and of the rural deanery of Crediton in particular!

Of Calvin's famous letter from Geneva to Somerset (Oct. 22, 1548), a meagre and scarcely faithful notice is taken. It is in this letter that Calvin notices the two extremes of theological "rebels" who had risen up against the King. "Both alike deserve," said the Reformer, "to be repressed by the sword." The hint was taken, and in the following year the fire (not the sword) burnt the hapless heretic who represented the Protestant extreme, Joan Bocher. Calvin also recommends for the repression of false doctrine that a religious code should be drawn up, to be sworn to by the clergy, and that a catechism for children should be prepared. Both suggestions were acted upon. It was by Calvin's advice that the system *of binding down pastors and curates to a certain written form* began, which is still, in this the third century since the advice was given, oppressing the consciences of our clergy. Multitudes of our countrymen still think with Calvin "that it is both right and fitting to oppose the levity of some fantastic minds, who allow themselves in too great licence, and also to shut the door against all eccentricities and new doctrines." But this celebrated letter contains some better counsel, especially on the necessity of having powerful preachers of the gospel. "The utmost care should be taken that, so far as possible, you have good trumpets, which shall sound into the very depths of the heart." Of these, the salient points in Calvin's letter, not a hint does Mr. Lemon give in his notice of it.

In 1549, August 2, we have the record of a letter of the King to Bonner, Bishop of London, imputing to his evil influence the absence of the people from prayer and the Holy Communion. The King prescribes to the Bishop the heads of his first sermon at St. Paul's, particularly against the sin of rebellion. What would our Bishops say now if the Queen were to send to the Bishop of Oxford the skeleton of a sermon on humility, or to him and the Bishop of Exeter another on the sufficiency of scripture?

In the following month, we have the précis of the commission to Cranmer and others for citing Bonner for disobedience to the King's injunctions.

July 24, 1550, we have the first notice of the refugees from religious persecution in Holland. The King grants letters-patent to a congregation in London for the pure interpretation of the Scriptures and the administration of the Holy Sacrament. Elizabeth also was gracious to these "persecuted strangers." In 1561, John Utenhovius was the pastor of the Dutch congregation in London. The church, however, became the nursery of heresy, and in 1575 (April 8) five Dutchmen were condemned for anabaptism, and their confession of faith and appeal to the Queen's mercy are calendared. These five were perhaps those who recanted and bore faggots at Paul's Cross. Fourteen women and a young boy (the latter having been whipped) were banished. Five others were shut up in a dungeon, where one of them died. On July 22, two were burnt at Smithfield. It was in behalf of these unfortunate foreigners that John Foxe wrote the letter to Queen Elizabeth, supplicating mercy and pleading for toleration. Of this letter no trace appears in the Calendars. Settlements of Dutch refugees are also alluded to at Colchester, Norwich and Halstead. At the last-named town, in Essex, these strangers were engaged in bay-making. Their departure about 1580 to Colchester caused much distress in the place, and petitions from numerous villages in Essex were numerously signed, praying for their return.

October 28, 1552, Northumberland writes to Cecil that he wishes the King would appoint Mr. Knox to the Bishopric of Rochester. "He would be a whetstone to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a confounder of the Anabaptists lately sprung up in Kent."

"Anabaptist" was what "Socinian" now is, a term of extreme reproach. In 1560, Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation against "Anabaptists and others of dangerous and pernicious opinions coming into England from abroad."

The Calendar of the State Papers in Mary's reign is faulty from its extreme brevity, the whole being comprised in little more than sixty pages. There are some passages which throw a little light on the obscure plots of Dudley and Throgmorton and the rebellion of Wyatt. We look in vain for anything relating to the men who died during this reign at the stake for their religion.

One entry illustrates the dismal condition in Mary's reign of married ecclesiastics, especially those of high rank. Dr. Robert Holgate had for ten years enjoyed the Archbishopric of York, and in that office had accumulated immense wealth by exchanging manors connected with his see for advowsons, &c., gained by the Crown on the dissolution of monasteries. He had married, in

1550, Barbara, daughter of Roger Wentworth, Esq., previously betrothed to one Norman. Soon after the accession of Mary, he was imprisoned for this marriage. In the letter of his to Richard Southwell, now calendared, he pleads that his marriage had been brought about by the advice of the Duke of Somerset and through fear of the Duke of Northumberland. The most remarkable feature in the letter is an offer of £1000 to the Queen as the price of his liberty. The offer was accepted, though it is possible that the motive that led to his liberation was concealed, and the false one of the intercession of King Philip alleged. If the statement be correct in the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, that he obtained his freedom in January, 1555, the conjectural date given to this document of December in that year should be altered. The biographies generally describe the charge against Holgate as one of treason. Whether this or the lighter offence of his contracting marriage occasioned his imprisonment, what must we think of the state of public morality when a prisoner openly bids a price to the Queen for his liberty?

The papers illustrative of the reign of Elizabeth indicate, as the editor has observed, a marked change of character, and throw no small degree of light on biography, genealogy, local history and the social condition of England. The Protestant bishops seem to have had no beds of roses. Pilkington of Durham, describing in 1561 the disordered state of his diocese, says that, "like St. Paul, he has to fight with beasts at Ephesus." In 1577, Archbishop Sandys describes the Yorkshire men as "a stiff-necked, wilful and obstinate people." It was in this year that returns were required of all persons not coming to church, "with the valuation of their lands and goods." The returns given indicate the combined strength of the Papist and Puritan parties.

Some curious pieces of secret history in relation to Queen Bess's bishops are related. Thus in April, 1580, we find William Overton writing from Chichester (where he was treasurer of the cathedral) to Mrs. Becon, seeking her husband's influence to obtain him a bishopric. This was not Thomas Becon, the noted Reformer and author of the "Postells" (he died in 1570), but Dr. John Becon, Precentor of Chichester. Overton offers, in case he gets the bishopric, that Becon and his wife shall live with him, and all that he had should be theirs. Before the close of the year, Overton is called upon to utter those words, so melodious to clerical ears, "Nolo episcopari," and was installed in the see of Coventry and Lichfield. But Dr. Becon was doomed to find, what Prime Ministers have often experienced, that clerical memories are none of the best on the episcopal bench, or at all events that gratitude is not always an episcopal virtue. The Bishop appointed Becon his Chancellor, but afterwards quarrelled with him and attempted to drive him from the

office. The quarrel led to many scandals and even to a riot in the cathedral and to proceedings in the Star Chamber. This incident probably brought Overton's discreditable letter into the collection of State Papers. The copy is in Becon's MS., and endorsed by him as a true copy.

In 1567, we find Whitgift defending himself to Cecil from a charge of being a favourer of Nonconformity, but admits that "it grieveth him that any man should cease from preaching on account of things indifferent." Thirteen years after, Bishop Cowper writes to Walsyngham concerning a Mr. Prise, of Washingley (near Stilton), who was a prisoner in the Fleet for Nonconformity. While the Bishop prays that two other prisoners may be released, both being willing to conform, he asks that the wife of Prise may be sent for and examined, "she being more obstinate and wilful than her husband."

The glimpses of university life which the State Papers give are not always suggestive of literature and scholarly peace and order. The students of Magdalen Hall, Cambridge, complain of Dr. Diggory Nichols, who at the instigation of Dr. Andrew Perne had been made President of the Hall, and allege three crimes and misdemeanours, viz., 1, that he was an enemy of all Welshmen; 2, that he had his kine milked at the college hall door; and, 3, that his wife was such a scold as to be heard all over the college. In 1565, there was much trouble in the university on the vexed question of ecclesiastical vestments. Mr. Fulke and others are accused of making "Robin Hoodes pennyworthes of their copes and other vestments." Dr. Beaumont at the same time writes to Cecil, complaining of his want of success in engaging from the university two preachers to go to Ireland.

The letters of Sir Christopher Hatton, of which the abstract is given, are curious documents, and shew a combination of the courtier and the lover. Some passionately warm expressions give a colour to the imputations on her cousin, the utterance of which by Mary Queen of Scots probably led to the tragedy at Fotheringay.

The volumes edited by Mr. Bruce, including the reign of Charles I., are admirable specimens of the skill required in a Calendar of State Papers.

Several of the State Papers in 1632 and 1633 refer to the curious case of Henry Sherfield, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, the iconoclast Recorder of Salisbury, of which our readers will find a full account in Neal's History of the Puritans, II. 224—226. The date given by Neal (May 20) must be inaccurate.

"1632, Feb. 6. Notes of proceedings in the Star Chamber at the hearing of the case of Henry Sherfield, Recorder of Sarum, informed against for having destroyed a portion of a glass window in the church of St. Edmund, in Salisbury. The window contained a representation of God the Father in the shape of an old man with a pair of compasses

making the world. The vestry ordered the picture to be removed as idolatrous, but the Bishop inhibited the removal. Thereupon Sherfield borrowed the keys of the church, and broke the window with his staff. These notes contain the speeches of counsel for and against, with the evidence and a long note of Bishop Laud's speech on this occasion."—State Papers, Vol. CCXI., No. 20.

Soon after, we find, in a letter of John Nicholas, father of Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Admiralty, a reference to the troubles which this Star-Chamber prosecution occasioned to the Recorder and his family.

"Distraction in the worthy family of the Sherfields. The writer's neighbour claims the inheritance of the Recorder's land under a conveyance made before the Recorder's cause was heard in the Star Chamber, to prevent the King from his fine and to deceive his creditors. Ramsey, that married the Recorder's daughter, and his wife are at Sarum, and all the tribe are in arms. Ramsey has served the writer's neighbour and his son with a subpœna into the Chancery, and swears that no man shall have a penny out of the estate but by the extremity of law."—State Papers, Vol. CCXIV., No. 92.

According to Neal, the sentence of Sherfield, moved by Laud, was a fine of £500 (Laud had named £1000), imprisonment in the Fleet till the money should be paid, the loss of the Recordership, and his entering into recognizances for good behaviour in future. But it would seem from other State Papers calendared by Mr. Bruce, that, in addition to his other punishments, Sherfield was sentenced to go through some kind of public ecclesiastical penance.

"1633, Feb. 16. Sec. Windebank" (a creature of Laud's) "to Bishop Davenant of Salisbury.—Doubts not he has heard of a sentence lately given in the Star Chamber against Mr. Sherfield for a foul and notorious crime in defacing an ancient window in the parish church of St. Edmund, in New Sarum, *part of which* sentence consists in an acknowledgment of the insolency before the Bishop. The King, not forgetting his princely care of the Church, has commanded Sec. Coke and the writer to intimate that it is his pleasure that the Bishop cause the acknowledgment to be done publicly and with as much submission both in word and behaviour as may be. The Bishop is to require the Dean and Chapter, and as many of the prebends and others of his clergy as are within convenient distance, with the gentlemen of the county, to be present. His Majesty in detestation of this notorious profanation, expressing so much tenderness of the Church, expects the Bishop to second the King's intentions in vindicating his own cause, adding what he shall think fit, and may in strictest construction of the sentence, be done for aggravation of this part of the punishment. . . . *Sec. Windebank has endorsed that the letter was written by His Majesty's commandment, and was seen and allowed by his Majesty.*"—State Papers, Vol. CCXXXII., No. 56.

Feb. 26, 1633, Edward Stanley writes to Sec. Windebank:

"They hear much of the Recorder of New Salisbury's business, and

of the censures of the Lords upon it. Discontented men are not sparing of these too. The writer subscribes to the Secretary's opinion that New England were a fitter place for him. It must be new or it will not please him."—State Papers, Vol. CCXXXII., No. 107.

Dr. Edward Mason writes, March 15, 1633, to Sec. Windebank:

"Until this day it did not please Mr. Sherfield to repair to the Bishop to offer his submission. Before he came, all things were settled with the Bishop according to the enclosed form of submission, but because the Bishop is now upon his journey to preach at court, and the time too short to call in such assistance and testimony as the Bishop by advice thought fit, the day is put off to the 8th of April, when he will be returned and many more will be ready to attend. Does not doubt it will be solemnly done when it is done, but rather suspects that Mr. Sherfield will not condescend to all conditions and circumstances required, wherein, lest the Bishop should out of his facility be overwrought to connivance, he hopes that at court they will take order for his better direction and confirmation. The submission was drawn by the writer in a more significant form, but many passages the Bishop rased out. . . Trusts the Bishop will be confirmed in his resolution, that the faction that now domineers in his diocese may have a warning example. Recommends petition of Dr. Lynne for the charges of the prosecution of Mr. Sherfield, which it is desired should be presented to the King, and it is thought the Bishop of London would second it. In all business of ecclesiastical defence, the Bishop of Salisbury casts backward and retires himself into caution and silence."

From the enclosures it appears that Dr. Lynne's costs for the Star-Chamber proceedings against Sherfield amounted to £132. 9*s.* 4*d.* (State Papers, Vol. CCXXIII., No. 88.)

In the passage that follows we have a reference to some of the writings of Socinus:

"1632, Oct. 22. Petition of Humphrey Robinson, stationer, to Archbishop Abbot. Petitioner having some books lately sent to him out of the Low Countries in his absence, they were sent to the Bishop of London. Amongst them were found the controversy of Socinus, not above three or four copies, one of which he intended for the Archbishop, another for the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the third he supposed the library in Oxford would have of him, which books have never been prohibited. Prays that he may dispose of the books as above, or give security to return them into Holland, and never meddle more in them." Vol. CCXXIV., No. 43.

The Archbishop concurs in the proposal, and Robinson and another bind themselves, under a penalty of £20, to dispose of the books in the way suggested.

The ecclesiastical commissioners having taken proceedings against William Turner, of the University of Oxford, for having, together with Michael Sparke, published unlicensed books, it appears from his and the other's answer to the charge that one of the unlicensed books was "Lame Giles," and that it was the

work of Mr. Prynne. Other unlicensed books named were "Dent's Sermons," of which an edition of 3000 had been printed; Dr. Preston's Five Sermons, 2000; "Book of Promises," or "Saint's Legacies," 1500 copies.

"1632, Nov. 14. Sir Henry Herbert called to account in the Star Chamber, why he has allowed Dr. Donne's Paradoxes to be printed. This was done by the Bishop of London at the King's command."

The first notice we find of conventicles occurs in the postscript of a letter from Bishop Laud to Francis Windebank:

"Fulham House, June 13, 1632. We took another conventicle of Separatists in Newington Woods, upon Sunday last, in the brake where the stag should have been lodged for his hunting the next morning."

The Bishop took as much pleasure in hunting his Puritan fellow-countrymen as any sportsman had in pursuing the stag. Islington and Newington were from an early period favourite haunts of the persecuted Nonconformists.

Among the letters to Laud contained in these volumes is one from Dr. William Gouge, the noted Puritan minister for six-and-forty years of Blackfriars. It bears date, Oct. 19, 1631. This is the abstract of it:

"The report that has come to his ears of his traducing the Bishop or his proceedings has much perplexed the writer's guiltless soul. Esteems highly the Bishop's favour, and having heard it more than once, out of his own mouth, that he will not entertain a report against a minister without proof, nor censure him till he have spoken what he can for himself, assumes that apology which blessed Queen Elizabeth made for herself in her troubles, thus translated by an Eton scholar:

'Plurima de me mala suspicantur,
Attamen de me mala non probantur.'

Has ever observed the Bishop prudent, moderate, courteous. Good proof thereof was given to Dr. Sibbes and the writer before he was their diocesan; and after that, with Dr. Taylor and Mr. Davenport at the Bishop's house in London, when they four were cited to the High Commission Court; and again to the writer alone, when complaint was made about his manner of celebrating the Holy Communion. Concerning some ministers that refused to subscribe and conform, the writer is a witness of the Bishop's patient forbearing with them, giving them time to consult conformable ministers, and vouchsafing to confer with them himself. Never heard that any have been deprived but such as utterly refused to conform. Dr. Taylor, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Foxly and Mr. Prime, are instances of the Bishop's backwardness in taking advantage of private accusations. All England takes notice of his special grace to the writer. What he has here written he has everywhere testified."—State Papers, Vol. CCII., No. 3.

In his after-life, and especially after attaining the Primacy, Laud was little entitled to the praises which Dr. Gouge gives him in this soothing letter. Exemplary as Gouge was for piety and charity, he was repeatedly in trouble. Bishop Neile im-

prisoned him for republishing Finch's book on "The Calling of the Jews." As one of the feoffees of the Puritan trust for purchasing impropriations, he was ordered to be presented in the Star Chamber; for aiding and advocating the collections for the persecuted ministers of the Palatinate, he was convened before the High Commission as a notorious delinquent. Prynne, in his "Canterbury's Doome," also mentions a prosecution to which he was subjected for opposing Arminianism and the new ceremonies. Dr. Gouge's son, Thomas, the friend of Archbishop Tillotson, was one of the ejected clergy. Richard Roberts, another of the Two Thousand, was his son-in-law.

These volumes abound with curious illustrations of local history; e.g., the religious history of the county of Essex is strongly marked with a tendency to Nonconformity. At Braintree, Dr. Samuel Collins, vicar 1612—1657, had fallen under the displeasure of Bishop Laud for his Puritan leanings. The vicar thus writes to Dr. Duck, the Bishop's Chancellor, 1632, Jan. 18:

"My Lord of London's displeasure pierces deep into him, not so much in regard of his power, as his fatherly love towards the writer, for which he conceived his Lordship to be the best friend he had in the world. The complaint which has provoked the Bishop, the writer occasioned by his endeavours to reform the error of sundry in his town, who would not be persuaded, but that it still lay in him to procure them a toleration of their wonted nonconformity, which he laboured to draw them from. He attained thereby in some measure his end, and since the last court has gone on by degrees to the practice of conformity. It is no easy matter to reduce a numerous congregation into order that has been disorderly these thirty years, and for the last seven years has been encouraged in that way by all the refractory ministers of the country by private meetings and leaving schismatical books among them. These persons have laboured to make his person and ministry contemptible and odious, because he would not hold correspondence with them. If he had suddenly fallen upon the strict practice of conformity he had undone himself, and broken the town to pieces. Upon the first notice of alteration many were resolving to go to New England. By his moderate and slow proceeding he has made stay of some, and hopes to settle their judgments."—State Papers, Vol. CCX., No. 41.

In the same year, we have the rude lines of some Colchester Nonconformist, who gives portraits in sorry verse of the clergy of the place. The parson of St. Nicholas had railed round the communion-table in his church, and commenced proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts against his parishioners who refused to contribute to the expense. The poem opens with this stanza (we modernize the spelling).

"The complaint which I have in hand
Is of our parish tutor,
Because with Bonner he is turned
To be a persecutor."

It is alleged in dispraise of the parson that he preaches but once a month, and then has much ado

"His hour-glass to fill."

Of Ayres, another clergyman, it is said, that if the times of Popery should return,

"A dainty friar he would make."

Of another, named Honnifowld, though a scholar and a divine, it is alleged that, in addition to other unclerical appetencies, he loves a cup of wine. The fourth bore a name afterwards honoured in the annals of Essex Nonconformity, Newcomen. The lampoon ends with this stanza:

"And thus you see four clergy knaves
Together all compact,
And still they do continually
In the devil's service act."—Vol. CCXXIX., No. 123.

The volumes relating to the reign of Charles II., admirably edited by Mary Ann Everett Green, are most valuable additions to the sources of knowledge of English history. The editress appears to have fulfilled the instructions of the Master of the Rolls so exactly, that many who will never see the original State Papers of this period will yet be familiar with their contents.

We cannot at the present time offer more interesting extracts than those which relate to the progress and passing of the Act of Uniformity, and to the proceedings of the Government against those who preferred violating the unjust laws of men rather than abstain from the pure worship of God. A prominent characteristic of these Papers is the eagerness of the Government to receive tidings of plots and intended risings on the part of the persecuted Nonconformists. An army of spies immediately arose, ready to report them, or to concoct them if there was nothing to report.

"1661, Nov. 28. Secretary Nicholas to Henry Coker, of Wiltshire.—The King thanks him and the other justices for their loyal vigilance; but as there is a Bill depending in Parliament concerning Uniformity, wishes them to forbear the issue of warrants till it has passed."—Vol. XLIV., No. 132.

"1662, March 12. Henry Chapman to Mr. Muddiman.—John Palmer, a violent Presbyterian and lecture-driver, of Kington, near Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire, has hung himself on reading of the further subversion of Presbytery by passing an Act of Uniformity."—Vol. LII., No. 54.

"March 31. The Chancellor informed the H. of Peers that the King wants a power in the Act of Uniformity to dispense with ministers using the surplice and making the sign of the cross."—De Wiquefort's Despatch, p. 524.

"April, 1662. Edward Potter to Secretary Nicholas.—There is great general discontent for want of bread. If the Act of Uniformity comes forth, they will not submit to it. There are agents among them, as Col. Biscoe and others. The Quakers are buying up the best horses

in the country, &c. Has met with one Mumford, who lately came from Richard Cromwell. Col. Whalley has a tenant in the Isle of Ely, who may have letters from him."—Vol. LIII., No. 98.

"1662, June 12. Thomas Culpepper, &c., to Sir Edward Hales.—Unlawful meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists are held within the seven hundreds of Kent, and dangerous and disaffected persons hold unlawful meetings in the night. Unless this be prevented, good subjects must suffer."—Vol. LVI., No. 48.

"Notes in short-hand (by Secretary Nicholas), of Chandler, a fishmonger, who dispersed the book called the Wise Virgins; of Ludlow's being seen in Westminster; of many of the other party being enlisted in the King's regiment, and 8000 in Scotland. They will stay till the Act of Uniformity comes into operation, whereby the Presbyterians will be exasperated."—Vol. LVI., No. 49.

"June 25, 1662. William Williamson to Sir William Compton.—The Fifth-monarchy-men are ready to strike in with any rebellion. The Commonwealth-men do not think it safe to stir till the Presbyterians rise, they being the most numerous and zealous, and having the largest purses. They wait till the people shall have tasted the scourge of the Act of Uniformity and the other late Acts."—P. 418.

"Aug. 27, 1662. Dean Guy Carleton to Williamson.—The fanatics (of Carlisle) speak broad treason, and say that their deliverance is at hand. If not disarmed, they will soon rise in rebellion there, where all are so secure and negligent that unquiet spirits are impudently bold."—Vol. LVI., No. 100.

"1662, Nov. 29. Stephen Harris petitions the King for the office of Keeper of the White Lion Prison, on the grounds that he apprehended Hugh Peters, and has since apprehended 40 or 50 of H.M.'s enemies in a day; has quite lost his trade among the factious people of Southwark, who call him a Saul or Persecutor. The King commends the appointment of Stephen Harris as 'diligent, active and loyal.'"—Vol. LXIII., No. 111.

"1652, Dec. Robert Johnston informs Secretary Bennet of various suspicious persons, viz., Mr. Raden, formerly of the Post-office, now near Exeter; Mr. Forbes, a Scot, formerly of Gloucester; also Dr. Owen and Goodwin, who now scruple at the surplice, but used to wear velvet cassocks, and to receive £500 to £700 a-year from their churches; Mr. Helmes, a witty, projecting man. Describes Baker as banished from New England for blasphemy and atheism and as a liar; only met him accidentally."—Vol. LXV., No. 110.

"1662, June 1. William Williamson to Sir William Compton.—Has been busy all the week conversing with the leading men. They say they must go to their closets and bewail their apostacy in this day of visitation. The Independents and Presbyterians, who could hardly give each other a good word, on the publishing of the Act of Uniformity held a great meeting at Great St. Bartholomew's, Thames Street, received the sacrament together, and have appointed a fast."—Vol. LVI. No. 1.

"1662, Dec. 26. Declaration by the King of his regret that the recent traitorous practices have compelled the death of some of his subjects, and assuring them, notwithstanding the malicious reports to the contrary, that the Act of Indemnity will be faithfully and honestly

performed; that the guards are only raised for a safety of H. M.'s person against conspiracy, and not from a desire of military or arbitrary rule; that the indulgence to tender consciences promised at Breda and since, is still intended, notwithstanding the Act of Uniformity; and that he will request from Parliament an Act for dispensing with nonconformity, &c. &c."—Vol. LXV. No. 54.

"1662, Dec. 28. Minute of a letter to the Lord Chancellor, sending lists of the prisoners in Newgate and the Gate-house, about 280 Anabaptists, whom the King is willing to set free if they will take the oaths, and waits his Lordship's opinion thereon.

"Note of prisoners in the Gate-house: 20 for sedition, 2 priests for saying mass, 9 persons of felonies. In Newgate: 289 Anabaptists and others taken at unlawful meetings, 5 felons, 32 convicted of high treason but reprieved, 18 for misdemeanors; total, 386."—Vol. LXV., No. 65.

"1662, July. Representation of the importance of the city and castle of Chester, and arguments that it should be garrisoned, because so many ejected ministers go about like firebrands, and because of the numbers of Presbyterian gentry and others who hold private meetings; the gentry being dissatisfied because put out of the Commission of the Peace, and all disliking the Church Liturgy."—Vol. LXII.

The next batch of extracts relate to the conventicles which the Government was so diligent in suppressing.

"1661, Aug. 24. Sir Richard Browne, Lord Mayor of London, to Secretary Nicholas.—Has obeyed his orders in searching at St. Bartholomew's for Major John Cobbett or Corbet. There had been a meeting of 300, but all were gone except 10 men and 30 women, whom he has apprehended and sent to Newgate; gives the names and addresses of the 10 men, and what they will confess of their callings. They say they met to serve God, and being told he best served God who obeyed the King, replied they were not bound to obey him when the Spirit commanded the contrary."—Vol. XL., No. 84.

"1661, Sept. 11. Information by Hodgkinson, the printer, that Knowles, Jesse and John Simpson, are the persons who preached at Great All-Hallows, Mr. Bragg's church, at a fast on Aug. 24, and that they preach there every Monday and Thursday, where they may best be apprehended. Those that preach there are bred to it at a conventicle in Archer Lane, where two pulpits are put up for prophesying. A brief was read last Sunday, where the King's name was muttered over, and those of archbishops and bishops omitted."—Vol. XLI., No. 39.

"1661, Sept. 12. Notes by Secretary Nicholas relative to the removal of prisoners from the Tower to remote places; proclamation for cashiered officers and soldiers to remove 20 miles from London; Major Wansey, a desperate villain; the flocking of fanatics to the funerals of their brethren, &c."—Vol. XLIII., No. 56.

"Oct. 13, 1661. Edward Potter to Secretary Nicholas gives nine names of persons attending meetings. They are fearful to begin anything in London, but expect something abroad in the country; thinks he could best get an account of their undertakings by going into the country. Will meantime make searches about London. Gives extracts from sermons preached at Great All-Hallows, by Kissen (Kiffin?),

Hurst, Wiss, Ford, James Palmer and John Simpson. Endorsed, Sir Edward Broughton."—Vol. XLIII., No. 57.

"1661. Information against persons taken at an unlawful meeting of 800 or 1000 persons. Blaze Allen, a physician of Rudge, co. Somerset, told Capt. Long he need not be so harsh; it might be their turn soon. Maj. Will. King, of North Bradley, co. Wilts, had built a barn, as he called it, on purpose for meetings, and letters of dangerous consequence were found on him. Thos. Hicks, of Devizes, and M. Elliott, of Clifford, co. Somerset, are two of their teachers."—Vol. XLVII., No. 119.

"1662, July 3. William Williamson to Secretary Nicholas.—The Commonwealth-men still resolve to wait till the Presbyterians take the lead. They keep quiet themselves and laugh to see the Quakers and others drawn to prison, while they blow the fire by seditious pamphlets, &c. They call Major-Gen. Browne one of the best fellows in England. A strange fire is kindled among the people. Some blame the Chimney Act, some the breaking up of meetings and the late trial of Bolton, an ancient citizen. They hope much from the division between the City and the Parliamentary Commissioners about the choice of Aldermen and Common Councilmen. A meeting is to be held to consult what to do, if there is a transportation before the Presbyterians are touched."—Vol. LVII., No. 15.

"1662, July 7. The King to the Duke of Buckingham sends a letter to inform him of factious meetings about Leeds and Wakefield, where Noste and Marsden, under the profession of godly preachers, possess the minds of the seduced auditors who flock to them from all parts with dislike to the present Government; to prevent mischief, he is to order their apprehension, to suppress all tumultuency and disorderly meetings in those parts, to secure peace, and keep exorbitant people within the bounds of obedience."—Vol. LVII.

There is, we have no doubt, an error in one of the names. Noste should be Nesse, Christopher Nesse, one of the ejected clergy of Leeds, of whom an account was given in Christian Reformer, July, 1847.

"1662, Nov. 1. John Eyre, a Justice of Peace for Wiltshire, to Secretary Bennet.—The county longs for quiet. The Separatists still disobedient to Church government, and have their meetings as frequent as ever. Has issued warrants for their suppression and for the apprehension of the most dangerous; but sending them to gaol does little good. They glory in their sufferings. There will be no safety unless they are kept down with a strong hand, for there are 5 to 1 against the present Government."—Vol. LXII., No. 9.

"Nov. 1. Richard Winstanley to Henry Muddiman.—The fanatics there increase by over-indulgence, but are quiet. Capt. Pierrepoint has been sent for to Nottingham, and his troops searched the house of Garland, formerly a captain of the rebels, where they found a peck of bullets and powder, and match proportionable."—Vol. LXII., No. 14.

Among the Baptists whose names are included in the ejected clergy, no more worthy man is to be found than Henry Jessey, of St. George's, Southwark, distinguished by his learning, his philanthropy and his gentle patience. He died the death of a

martyr, expiring in his prison, Sept. 4, 1663. Some passages relating to him in the Calendars add something to our knowledge of the later portions of his life.

"1661, Dec. 8. Examination of Mr. Jessey. Has long been in the habit of collecting notes of remarkable events. Gave one sheet of them in Nov. 1660, to Mr. Stanbridge, and another was taken on Dec. 28, 1660, when his house was searched and he taken by order of the D. of Albermarle; his last sheet contained a note of the strange death of Major Orde in the Bishopric of Durham, which was in the Annus Mirabilis: particulars of wonderful things mentioned in his notes. Knows Lt.-Col. Danvers and his son, Francis Smith, and talked to them about prodigies that had happened. Also visits Mr. Cockain, and has written out prodigies for him, and heard them from him. Heard that a book of prodigies was to be printed, and since it came forth a copy has been given, will not say by whom."—Vol. XLV., No. 28.

"Dec. 10. Jessey writes from the Lamb Inn, St. Clement Danes, to Mr. Howard. The party from whom he thought he received the book denies it. Knows not from whom he had it. Begs advice for his enlargement from an inn where the noises disturb his rest."—Vol. XLV., No. 53.

"1662, Dec. Petition of Henry Jessey, an ancient minister still in durance to the King and Council for performance of the good orders passed in Council for his release. Was seized in bed on Aug. 30, with sundry others now released, and accused before the D. of Buckingham and Sir John Bennet, for telling Mrs. Nickens of an intended rising in London; whereas, on hearing of it he informed the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Bourne, Major-General and Mrs. Nickens, because her husband was a constable, but knew not who the risers were. Orders in Council for his release were made Oct. 3, 15 and 17 last, but not executed."—Vol. XLV., No. 183.

One of the early Unitarians of England was John Knowles, whose name is enrolled in the Two Thousand as ejected from the cathedral of Bristol. Much obscurity hangs about some portions of his life. He was for some years in America, and we now learn from these State Papers that he was for a time in Holland. We find him in these volumes associated with John Crellius (third son of the more celebrated John Crellius), with whom he had probably become acquainted in Amsterdam. It is also interesting to find that Knowles was the agent for distributing pecuniary help to the ejected ministers in England and to the persecuted Unitarians and other Protestants of Poland. We give all the passages that relate to Knowles in the Calendars.

"1661, Sept. 26. Capt. Wm. Pestell to Sec. Nicholas. The people are transported with jealousy, will not believe in the King's goodness, and spread seducing pamphlets everywhere; they are as bold in their meetings as before Venner's plot. Fifth-monarchy men preach and visit with the Presbyterians, and encourage the people to withstand the Common Prayer and the oppression and idolatry of the Court. They have bought a small ship to convey each other abroad. Mr. Knowles and others who were in Newgate, are sent into Holland, where they

are in good condition, but act their business more secretly than here; they only wait an opportunity. Several of the old sea-captains at Plymouth are determined that the Common Prayer shall not come into Mr. Hughes's church; the same feeling exists at Dartmouth and other places on that coast, where Anabaptists and Quakers abound. Crofton, a prisoner, spreads a report that his sister, petitioning the King for his trial, was told he should be tried soon enough to suffer; this embitters them and they declare he shall not die alone. Is very jealous of some officers of the Fleet, who correspond with known enemies to Government; though they appear well now, yet if a distraction were to come, they would be wolves in sheep's clothing. Two late prisoners in Venner's business said that God's people had more hopes now than ever, and the King and his bishops were riding post to their own destruction. Belchar, who was the principal preacher at Colman Street and should have joined with Venner had they not differed, is at Limehouse, where Venner's plot was hatched, and goes about to seduce the people as he did then."—Vol. LXII., No. 38.

"1662, June 5. (Huntingdon). H. Hed to John Knowles.—Will bring the son of the famous Crellius, who has come over on purpose to know the friends of the Archi-catholic (?) faith, and take him to Oxford. Begs Knowles to meet him there with Th. Morrett and G. C. Mr. Biddle, with seven others, was taken in London at a meeting and sent to Newgate."—Vol. LVI., No. 22.

The G. C. was probably Gilbert Clerke, of Stamford, the author of the "Antinicenismus" and the "Brevis Responsio." H. Hed and Th. Morrett, or Merret, are, we believe, new names in the roll of English Unitarians.

Edward Riggs, a spy of the Government, writes, 1663, Aug. 28, from Rotterdam to Sec. Bennet respecting Presbyterians, Independents and other suspected persons: "They expect something to be done in England. Knowles is come to London and is in Wapping." (P. 258.) During each of the two following months, Knowles is again named by the same writer as engaged with Lawrence, Thorne and others, in plots against the Government at home. But in 1663 we have the heads of a letter (probably intercepted) to Knowles. It bears date Dec. 19, London. H—— P——

"Wishes he (Knowles) or Thos. Merret would come and reside there, where is a fine opportunity of doing good; religious people, being driven into corners and chambers, are most ready to hear. Will visit Oxford with a Transylvanian friend of Mr. Orell. Sends him Irenicum Irenicorum and the Exile's Epistle."—Vol. LXXXVI., No. 2.

Mr. Orell is doubtless a mistake of the transcriber or printer for Crell. The "Exile's Epistle" we have never heard of. The "Irenicum Irenicorum" is by the learned physician Dr. Daniel Zwicker. Its further title (translated) is, *The Triple Rule of the Reconciler of Modern Christians; viz., the Sound Reason of Mankind, Sacred Scripture and Tradition.* Amst., 1658. 8vo. Among the replies to this work was one from the pen of Dr.

George Bull. An interesting account of Zwicker may be found in Wallace's Antitrinitarian Biography. The Irenicum was was brought up in the Horsley and Priestley correspondence, but the work was unknown to both the writers.

J—— C—— writes to John Knowles:

"Is too ill to go to Oxford with him. Is glad he is doing something for the Poland exiles. Could not hear whether the contributions made for them are paid in. Has got some contributions of 10*s.* each, but the sum will not exceed £5. *(Two pages.)*"—Vol. XC., No. 91.

John Wade, Jun., writes to John Knowles:

"Acknowledges his letter and proposes polemical questions relative to the ministry, &c. With note that the writer is probably a Socinian. *(Two pages.)*"—Vol. XCIV., No. 97.

H—— P—— writes from London to John Knowles:

"Has delayed his visit to Oxford; hopes something has been done in the business of charity for the Polish exiles; presumes he has received his epistle about it. Particulars of the state of religion in Holland; that owned by authority is Presbyterian Calvinism, but forms of prayer are often used, and sermons are learned by heart, and repeated without book.. Remonstrants are discountenanced. Anabaptists baptize adults by sprinkling, are allowed to give evidence without oath as the Quakers do, &c."—Vol. XCIV., No. 117.

John Johnson writes from Alcester to John Knowles, April 14, 1664:

"Has sent several copies of Knowles' letter to Mr. Crabb, but there wants good assurance how the money gathered may be conveyed to the parties that want relief. Asks further light for the scrupulous, the money collected for the Protestants of Piedmont having miscarried.

"*Encloses,—J. B. (Dr. Brian) to John Johnson. Is ready to contribute and beg for some scattered saints in Poland, but thinks that relief should be recommended from less private hands, as Mr. Baxter, Mr. Griffith, Drs. Owen and Goodwin; wants full testimony of their afflicted condition. Coventry, April* 8."—Vol. XCVI., No. 109.

H—— H—— writes, May 23, 1664, to John Knowles:

"Will transmit the moneys received for distressed brethren and strangers. Their situation grows worse, their money being expended, and the spirit of persecution raised in some countries. Some have come to Holland, the Lutherans leaving them no quiet in Holsatia; but a more particular account of their losses and necessities will be sent in, to satisfy those who would save their money. £60 is collected. Has not yet shewn Oxford to the Transylvanian strangers."—Vol. XCVIII., No. 96.

On this letter there is a note by another hand, characteristic of the times and the hands into which the letter had fallen, suggesting that "by assistance for Polonian fugitives is probably meant help for English rebels in Holland and the Low Countries."

1664, Aug. In an account of conventicles it is said, "They have £1000 in Knowles's hands to dispose of to godly men."

We propose hereafter to return to the subject of these Calendars and State Papers. The extracts given must have forced the thought, how laborious and anxious to governors as well as the governed is a state of political repression! It sometimes forces good citizens into plots and conspiracies, and it more frequently awakens needless suspicions in the minds of persons in authority, and gives to circumstances of trivial import an aspect of danger and alarm.

EXTRACTS FROM RICHARD MATHER'S JOURNAL OF HIS VOYAGE TO AMERICA, 1635.

A FEW years ago, the Dorchester (U.S.) Antiquarian and Historical Society printed, from the original MS. in its possession, the Journal of his Transatlantic voyage by the venerable man, some particulars of whose pious and useful life were given in a recent No. of our Magazine. (C. R., p. 345.) The Journal is also included in Alexander Young's "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," published at Boston in 1846, but now (in England at least) an exceedingly scarce volume. Mr. Young has added some valuable notes, of which we shall make use. We propose to give the more remarkable passages of Richard Mather's Journal, both as an interesting description of what a voyage to America was in the 17th century, and as a remarkable episode in the early life of two of our own ejected clergy.

Samuel Mather was born in Lancashire, 1626, and was educated in Harvard College, the first in the now long roll of graduated alumni of that College. Returning to England, he devoted himself to ministerial duty in England, Scotland and Ireland. The Act of Uniformity ejected him from Burton Wood, in his native county. *Nathaniel Mather*, born in 1630, was ejected from Barnstable. These two, the one being nine, the other five years of age, were companions of their father, Richard Mather, of Toxteth, when, flying from religious persecution in 1635, he crossed the Atlantic.

To this family the ejected clergy of England owed a third member, Dr. Increase Mather, who was ejected from Gloucester. But he was born in America, about four years after his father's settlement in that country.

Two other sons, making four in all, Timothy and Joseph, were of the party that sailed from Bristol in 1635. Another youth in the same vessel, named Jonathan Mitchell, afterwards studied for the ministry, and became, according to the author

of the "Life and Death of Mr. Richard Mather," a "faithful and famous pastor of the church of Cambridge, in New England." Matthew Mitchell and his family came from Halifax, in Yorkshire. They were dogged in their New-England home, year after year, by calamity, sickness, famine, fire, the burning of a shallop by the Pequot Indians, and the death of several of the family inflicted by those savages. A brother of Jonathan Mitchell, falling into their hands, was roasted alive. Such were the mischances and dangers to which the Pilgrim Fathers and their immediate successors were exposed.

Another passenger in this voyage was Daniel Maude, who had been educated at Emmanuel College, and while a student there graduated B.A. 1606, M.A. 1610. In America he took charge of the free school at Boston, and in 1642 became pastor of a church at Dover (N.H.). He died there in 1655, having won the repute of being a peaceable, serious and godly man and a diligent minister.

We have only to premise further that the name of the ship in which Richard Mather and his family sailed was the *James*, of 220 tons burthen, of which Captain Taylor was the master.

We give the opening passages of the Journal entire.

"Praise the Lord oh my soule, and all that is within mee, prayse his holy name! Praise the Lord oh my soule, and forget not all his benefits; yea, let all that is within mee and all that is without mee praise his holy name. And let every thing that hath breath praise the name of the Lord for ever and ever. Who gave unto us his poore servants, such a safe and comfortable voyage to New England. The particular passages whereof were as followeth.

"Wee came from Warrington on Thursday April 16, and came to Bristoll on the Thursday following, viz. April 23, and had a very healthfull, safe and prosperous journey all the way, blessed bee the name of our God for the same, taking but easy journeyes because of the children and footemen, dispaching 119 or 120 miles in seven dayes.

"Comming to Bristoll wee found divers of the company come before us; but some came not till after us: howbeit the last was come by the first of May. Neverthelesse we went not aboard the ship untill Saturday the 23d of May: so that the time of our staying in Bristoll was a month and two dayes, during all wch time wee found friendship and curtesy at the hands of divers godly Christians in Bristoll. Yet our stay was grievous unto us, when wee considered how most of this time the windes were easterly and served directly for us; but our ship was not ready: so ill did our owners deale with us.

"Going aboard the ship in King roade the 23d of May, wee found things very unready, and all on heapes, many goodes beeing not stowed, but lying on disordered heapes, here and there in the ship. This day there came aboard the ship 2 of the searchers, and viewed a list of all our names, ministered the oath of allegiance to all at full age, viewed our certificates from the ministers in the parishes from whence wee came, approved well thereof, and gave us tickets, that is, Licenses under their handes and seales, to passe the seas, and cleared the ship, and so

departed. When wee came to King roade (which is a spacious harbor of 5 or 6 miles broad, and 4 or 5 miles distant from Bristoll) wee found neere our ship another ship of Bristoll, called the Diligence, bound for New-found-land, riding at ancre.

"The 24th beeing the Lorde's day, the wind was strong in the morning, and the ship daunced, and many of our women and some children were not well; but sea-sicke, and mazy or light in their heades, and could scarce stand or go without falling, unlesse they took hold of something to uphold them. This day Mr. Maud was excercised in the forenoone, and I in the afternoone. The wind still easterly.

"The 25th, wee that were passengers would faine have had ancre weighed, and sayle set, that wee might have beene gone. But the mariners would insiste that they could not stirre till the goods were stowed and the hatches or deck above cleared, &c. So wee were forced to sit still, and fall in hand with the goodes; wch stay was a greater griefe unto us, because the Diligence, that lay within 2 or 3 stones cast of us did this morning go out in our sight.

"The Tuesday morning the wind beeing easterly and the decke somewhat cleared, the mariners began to addresse themselves for going. But about nine of the clocke, when they had taken up one of their ancres, and were in a manner ready to set forward, the wind turned directly agt us, unto the west, so that wee were forced to cast ancre againe, and sit still. This evening the Diligence, that went out the day before, came in againe, and cast ancre about the place where shee lay before; and found us riding at ancre where shee left us; and another ship also bound for New England came unto us, which other ship was called the Angel Gabriel.

"On Wednesday the wind continuing still at the west, wee having sent some of our men a shoar to fech more bread and victuals and more water for the cattell; our Master Captayne Taylor went aboard the Angel Gabriel; Mr. Maud, Nathaniel Wales, Barnabas Fower, Thomas Armitage and my selfe accompanying him. When wee came there wee found divers passengers, and among them some loving and godly Christians that were glad to see us there. And soone after wee were come aboard there, there came three or four more boates with more passengers, and one wherein came Sir Ferdinando Gorge, who came to see the ship and the people. When hee was come hee enquired whether there were any people there that went to Massachusets Bay, whereupon Mr. Maud and Barnabas Fower were sent for to come before him; who being come he asked Mr. Maud of his country, occupation or calling of life, &c., and professed his good will to the people there in the bay, and promised that if hee ever came there, hee would be a true friend unto them."—Pp. 5—8.

It is noted that Richard Mather himself kept in the background, probably apprehending that he might, if recognized, be stopped. Before he embarked, we know from the narrative of his grandson, Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia Americana* (1.406), that he had thought it expedient to disguise himself by a change of apparel, that he might not be stopped by the pursuivants of the ecclesiastical courts.

Wind and tide were prevailingly against the *James*. For many

days they made little progress, and all that the good minister could record was, that "the wind waxed louder, and the ship daunced with wind and waves." The usual unpleasant consequences ensued, from which the women and children on board especially suffered. On the 3rd of June, the Journal is continued thus:

"This evening there came to ancre in the King-roade another ship of Bristoll of 240 tunne, called the Bess, or Elizabeth, bound for New-fond-land, as there had done another two or three dayes before, called the Mary, which was also bound for New-fond-land.

"Thursday morning, the wind serving for us, and our Master and all the saylors being come aboard, wee set sayle and began our sea-voyage with glad hearts that God had loosed us from our long stay wherein we had been holden, and with hope and trust that he would graciously guide us to the end of our journey. We were that set sayle together that morning five shippes; three bound for New-fond-land, viz. the Diligence, a ship of 150 tunne; the Mary, a small ship of 80 tunne, and the Bess: and two bound for New-England, viz. the Angel Gabriel of 240 tunne, the James of 220 tunne. And even at our setting out, we that were in the James had experience of God's gracious providence over us, in that the Angel Gabriel haling home one of her ancres, had like, being carried by the force of the tide, to have fallen foule upon the forept of our ship, wch made all the mariners as well as passengers greatly afraid; yet by the guidance of God, and his care over us, she passed by without touching so much as a cable or a cord, and so we escaped that danger. This day wee went about ten or twelve leagues afore 12 of the clocke, and then the wind turned to the west, and the tide also was agt us; so that wee were forced to come to ancre again in the channel, betweene Wales and Winnyard in Somersettshire."—Pp. 9, 10.

No place of this name exists on the coast of Somerset. Minehead, Watchet, or possibly Quantockshead, in Bridgwater bay, may be the place intended.

On the 5th, the *James* anchored within two leagues of the isle of Lundy.

"Which Lundy is an Iland about 20 leagues short of the landes end, and 28 leagues from King roade. This day many passengers were very sea-sicke; and ill at ease through much vomiting. This day at night when the tide turned, wee set sail againe, and so came on Saturday morning to ancre againe, under Lundy, where abiding because the wind was strong agt us four of us were desirous to [go] ashoare into the Iland; and speaking thereof to our master hee was very willing to satisfy us therein, and went with us himselfe, Mr. Maude, Mathew Michel, Geo. Kenrick, myselfe, and some others accompanying him. When wee came into the Iland, wee found onely one house therein, and walking in it from side to side, and end to end, one of the house beeing with us, wee found 30 or 40 head of cattell, about 16 or 20 horses, and mares, goates, swine, geese, &c. and fowle and rabbets innumerable; the Iland is 1700 acres of land, but yeeldes no corne. Here wee got some milke and fowle and cheese, which things my children were glad

of, and so came aboard againe; but the wind beeing strong agt us, especially towardes night, wee rode there all night, and the next day, and many of our passengers were this evening very sicke."—Pp. 10, 11.

What Lundy was in 1635 it is now, and is still inhabited by a single family. A century earlier it proved a temporary, but not secure, asylum to a desperado and pirate of the name of Morisco, who had attempted at Woodstock the King's life.

Mather mentions for the first time the name of another passenger, *George* Kenrick. Mr. Young in his transcript conjectures it may be *John* Kenrick, who was afterwards known as a freeman of Boston, and removed thence to Brookline and Newton, and died 1686, aged 82.

Next, with some difficulty, the *James* and its companion ships make Milford Haven. Here the Journal gives us a few names and incidents which Mr. Rees should embody in his next edition of Welsh Nonconformity.

"Friday: A knight of the country dwelling neere Hartford west being aboard the Diligence, sent for mee to come to speake with him: much wondering we had what should bee the matter, seeing I never knew him, nor hee mee. When I came to him he used me courteously, invited me to his house, wished us all good successe, lamented the losse of them that stayed behind, when so many of the best people for upholding religion were removed and taken away. The knights name is Sir James Parret.

"Saturday, wind still against us.

"The 4th Sabbath on ship-board. This day Mr. Maud, Mathew Michel, and many of our passengers and of the Angel Gabriel's went to a church on shoare called Nangle, where they heard two good and comfortable sermons, made by an ancient, grave minister living at Pembrooke, whose name is Mr. Jessop. His text was ps. 91: 11. He will [give] his angels, charge, &c.; and his comming was purposely for the comfort and encouragement of us that went to N. England. I was exercised on ship-board both endes of the day, remayning there for the helpe of the weaker and inferior sort, that could not go on shoare.

"Munday, I went on shore to Nangle, with my wife and children; John Smith and his wife, and Mary; Susan Michel and divers others. It was a faire day, and wee walked in the fields, and at a house got some milke, &c. wherewith wee were much refreshed, and came aboard againe at evening.

"Tuesday, a raynie day, the wind still agt us.

"Wednesday, the wind still agt us.

"Thursday, the wind still agt us: This day in the morning our Master and the seamen, sent away and set on shoare one of the seamen, called Jephrey Cornish, who had fallen out and been in quarrelling and fighting with some of the seamen. The maine matter alleadged agt him was his drunkennesse, and blasphemy, and brawling and cursing in his drunkennesse. In the afternoone there came to the Angel Gabriel and to our ship, Mr. Jessop, to see the Christians bound for New England. He was a grave and godly old man, one that had

lost a good living, because of his non-conformity, and wished us all well, and we were much refreshed with his godly company and conference."—Pp. 12—14.

The Mr. Jessop mentioned with such sympathy and praise is only known as the father of Constantine Jessop, a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford, disaffected to the ceremonies of the Church of England, and the successor of the celebrated John Owen in the pulpit at Coggeshall, in Essex. Other particulars of him are mentioned by Anthony Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* III. 540.

At last, after twelve days' waiting, the needed east wind sprung up, and the passengers saw with joy their good ship "caried forth with speedy course," and presently after they bade adieu to the sight of their native land. On June 24th, they had the excitement of pursuing (but only for a short time and without result), a supposed Turkish pirate, the *James* being aided and encouraged by the *Angel Gabriel*, "a strong ship, and well furnished with 14 or 16 pieces of ordnance."

After the customary sabbath-day services on June 28, the Journal continues:

"This evening wee saw porpuyses about the ship, and some would fayne have been striking, but others dissuaded because of the Sabbath, and so it was let alone.

"Munday morning, wind still northerly; a faire coole day. This morning about seven of the clocke our seamen stroke a great porpuyse, and haled it with ropes into the ship; for bignesse not much lesse than an hogge of 20 or 25 shillings a piece, and not much unlike for shape; with flesh fat and leane, like in color to the fat and leane of an hogge, and being opened upon the decke had within his entrails, as liver, lights, heart, guts, &c., for all the world like a swyne. The seeing of him haled into the ship, like a swyne from the stye to the tressle, and opened upon the decke in viewe of all our company, was wonderful to us all, and marvellous merry sport and delightful to our women and children; so good was our God unto us, in affording us the day before spiritual refreshing to our soules, and this day morning also delightful recreation to our bodyes, at the taking and opening of this huge and strange fish. In the afternoone the Angel Gabriel sent their boate to our ship, to see how wee did, and our master Captayne Taylor went aboard the Angel, and tooke Mathew Michel and mee along with him. When we came thither we found their passengers that had beene sea-sicke now wel recovered the most of them; and 2 children that had had the smal pockes, wel recovered againe. Wee were intreated to stay supp there with their master, &c. and had good cheere, mutton boyled and rosted, rosted turkey, good sacke, &c. After which loving and curteous entertainment wee took leave, and came aboard the James again at night.

"Tuesday, a faire hot summer day, but smal wind. This day wee saw with wonder and delight abundance of porpuyses, and likewise some crampushes as big as an oxe, puffing and spewing up water as they went by the ship."—Pp. 16, 17.

On the 4th of July they parted finally with the *Angel Gabriel*.

Fears came over the passengers that, such was the length of the voyage, the hay for the cattle and the water would not last out.

"July 9. This day and two dayes before, we saw following the ship a little bird like a swallow called a Pitterill, wch they say doth follow ships against foule weather. And wee saw also this afternoone by the shipside a great crampush as big as an oxe."—Pp. 18, 19.

"July 24. One would have wondered to have seen the innumerable numbers of foule which we saw swimming on every side of the ship, and mighty fishes rowling and tumbling in the waters, twise as long and big as an oxe. In the afternoone we saw mighty whales spewing up water in the ayre like the smoake of a chimney, and making the sea about them white and hoary as it is said Job [xli. 32]; of such incredible bignes that I will never wonder that the body of Jonas could bee in the belly of a whale. At evening our seamen sounded and found ground at 50 fathom.

"Saturday morning they sounded againe and found no bottom, conceiving thereby that wee were the day before on New-fond-land banke, on the end of it neerer to New England. This day about 9 of the clocke, the wind turned from being northerly, and came about by the east unto the south; and the great fog vanished away, and it became a cleare sun-shine day. This day Mathew Michel and I taking notice that the hay and water waxed scarce, went to our Master intreating him to tell us how farre he conceived us to want of our journeyes end, that so we might better know how to order our water and provisions for our cattel wch yet were all alive and in good liking; and he thereupon summed up all the passages of our journey past, and conceived 250 leagues to be yet remayning unfinished. On Friday in the evening wee had an houre or two of marveylous delightful recreation, wch also was a feast unto us for many dayes after, while we fed upon the flesh of three huge porpuyses, like to as many fat hogs striked by our seamen and haled with ropes into the ship: the flesh of them was good meate with salt, pepper, and vinegar; the fat like fat facon; the leane like bull-beefe: and on Saturday evening they tooke another also."—Pp. 21, 22.

"Aug. 2. The 6th Sabbath from Milford & the 11th on ship-board. This day was a day of refreshing to us; not only because of preaching & prayers, wch wee enjoyed for the good of our soules; but also by reason of abundance of foule which wee saw swimming in the sea, as a token of neerenesse of land; besides our bodyes fed sweetly on the fresh cod taken the day before, of which our Master sent Mr. Maud & mee good store. And the wind blew with a coole and comfortable gale at south all day, which carried us away with great speed towards our journeyes end. So good was our loving God unto us alwayes, so also this day. Mr. Maud was excercised in the forenoone & I in the afternoone.

"But lest wee should grow secure, and neglect the Lord through abundance of prosperity, our wise and loving God was pleased on Munday morning about three of the clocke, when wee were upon the coast of land, to excercise us with a sore storme & tempest of wind and raine: so that many of us passengers with wind and raine were raised out of our beds, and our seamen were forced to let down all the sayles: and the ship was so tossed with fearefull mountaynes and valleyes of water, as if wee should have beene overwhelmed & swallowed up. But this

lasted not long: for at our poore prayeres the Lord was pleased to magnify his mercy in assuaging the winds & seas againe about sunrising."—Pp. 24, 25.

On Saturday morning, August 8, they "had a cleare and comfortable sight of America," and presently made land at an uninhabited island, 39 leagues N. and N. E. of Cape Anne. There were some dangers worse than any they had yet experienced for them to pass through.

"Aug. 15. But yet the Lord had not done with us, nor yet had let us see all his power and goodnesse which he would have us to take knowledge of; and therefore on Saturday morning about breake of day, the Lord sent forth a most terrible storme of raine and easterly wind, whereby wee were in as much danger as I thinke ever people were: for wee lost in that morning three great ancres & cables; of wch cables, one having cost 50£ never had beene in any water before, two were broken by the violence of the waves, and the third cut by the seamen in extremity and distresse, to save the ship and their & our lives. And when our cables and ancres were all lost, wee [had] no outward meanes of deliverance but by loosing sayle, if so bee wee might get to the sea from amongst the Ilands & rockes where wee ancred: but the Lord let us see that our sayles could not save us neither, no more than our cables & ancres; for by the force of the wind & rayne the sayles were rent in sunder & split in pieces, as if they had beene but rotten ragges, so that of the fore-sayle and sprissle-sayle there was scarce left so much as an hand-breadth, that was not rent in pieces, & blown away into the sea. So that at this time all hope that wee should be saved in regard to any outward appearance was utterly taken away, and the rather because wee seemed to drive with full force of wind & rayne directly upon a mighty rocke standing out in sight above the water, so that wee did but continually wayte, when wee should heare and feele the dolefull rushing and crushing of the ship upon the rocke. In this extremity and appearance of death, as distresse & distraction would suffer us wee cryed unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have compassion and pity upon us; for by his overruling providence & his owne immediate good hand, he guided the ship past the rocke, asswaged the violence of the sea, and the wind and raine, & gave us a little respite to fit the ship with other sayles, and sent us a fresh gale of wind at [blank] by wch wee went on that day in our course south-west & by west towards Cape Anne. It was a day much to bee remembered, because on that day the Lord graunted us as wonderfull a deliverance as I thinke ever people had, out of as apparent danger as I thinke ever people felt. I am sure our seamen confessed they never knew the like. The Lord so imprint the memory of it on our hearts, that wee may bee the better for it, & bee more carefull to please him and to walke uprightly before him as long as wee live; and I hope wee shall not forget the passages of that morning until our dying day. In the storme, one Mr. Willet of New Plimouth, and other 3 men with him, having beene turned out of all their havings at Penobscot about a fourtnight before, and coming along with us in our ship from Richmonds Iland, with his boate and goods in it made fast at the sterne of our ship, lost his boate with all that was therein, the violence of the waves breaking the boate in

pieces, and sinking the bottome of it into the bottome of the sea. And Richard Becon lending his helpe to the seamen at the haling of a cable, had the cable catched about his arme, whereby his arme was crushed in pieces, and his right hand pulled away, and himselfe brought into dolefull and grievous paine and misery. But in all this grievous storme, my feare was the lesse, when I considered the clearenesse of my calling from God this way, and in some measure (the Lords holy name be blessed for it) he gave us hearts contented and willing that hee should do with us and ours what he pleased, and what might bee most for the glory of his name, & in that we rested our selves. But when newes was brought unto us into the gunroome that the danger was past, oh how our hearts did then relent & melt within us! And how wee burst out into teares of joy amongst our selves, in love unto our gracious God, and admiration of his kindnesse in graunting to his poore servants such an extraordinary and miraculous deliverance. His holy name bee blessed forever.

"This day wee went on towards Cape Anne, as the wind would suffer, & our poore sayles further, and came within sight thereof the other morning; which Sabbath, being the 13 wee kept on ship-board, was a marveylous pleasant day, for a fresh gale of wind, & cleare sunshine weather. This day wee went directly before the wind, and had delight all along the coast as wee went, in viewing Cape Anne, the bay of Saugust, the bay of Salem, Marvil head, Pullin point, and other places; and came to ancre at low tide in the evening at Nantascot, in a most pleasant harbor, like to wch I had never seene, amongst a great many of Ilands on every side. I was excercised on ship-board both ends of the day. After the evenings excercise, when it was flowing tide againe, wee set sayle, and came that night to ancre againe before Boston, and so rested that night with glad & thankefull hearts that God had put an end to our long journey, being 1000 leagues, that is 3000 miles English, over one of the greatest seas in the world.

"Now this our journey, by the goodness of our God, was very prosperous unto us every manner of way. First of all it was very safe, & healthfull to us; for tho: wee were in the ship 100 passengers, besides 23 seamen, & 23 cowes and heyfers, 3 sucking calves & eight mares, yet not one of all these dyed by the way, neither person nor cattell, but came all alive to land, and many of the cattell in better liking than when wee first entered the ship; and most of the passengers in as good health as ever, and none better than myne owne family, and my weake wife & little Joseph as well as any other. Fevers, calentures, small pockes, & such diseases as have afflicted other passengers the Lord kept from among us, and put upon us no griefe in our bodyes, but a little sea-sicknesse in the beginning of the voyage; saving that 2 or 3 seamen had the flux, and Rich. Becon lost his right hand in the last storme, and one woman and a little child of hers, towards the end of the journey, had the scurvy. The meanes of which infirmity in her wee all conceyved to bee the want of walking and stirring of her body upon the decke; her manner beeing to sit much betweene the deckes upon her bed. And a speciall meanes of the healthfulnesse of the passengers by the blessing of God wee all conceyved to bee much walking in the open ayre, and the comfortable variety of our food; for seeing wee were not tyed to the ships diet, but did victuall our selves, wee had no want of

good and wholesome beere & bread; and as our land-stomaches grew weary of ship diet, of salt fish & salt beefe and the like, wee had liberty to change for other food which might sort better with our healthes and stomaches; and therefore sometimes wee used bacon & buttered pease, sometimes buttered bag-pudding made with curraynes and raisins, and sometimes drinke pottage of beere & oate-meale, and sometimes water pottage well buttered.

"And tho: we had two stormes by the way, the one upon Munday the 3d of August, the other on Saturday the 15th of the same, yet our gracious God (blessed and forever blessed bee his name) did save us all alive in them both, & speedily assuaged them againe. Indeed the latter of them was very terrible and grievous, insomuch that when wee came to land wee found many mighty trees rent in pieces in the midst of the bole, and others turned up by the rootes by the fiercenesse thereof: and a barke going from the bay to Marvil head, with planters & seamen therein to the number of about 23, was caste away in the storme, and all the people therein perished, except one man & his wife, that were spared to report the newes. And the Angel Gabriel beeing then at ancre at Pemmaquid, was burst in pieces and cast away in this storme, & most of the cattell and other goodes, with one seaman & 3 or 4 passengers did also perish therein, besides two of the passengers that died by the way, the rest having their lives given them for a prey. But the James and wee that were therein, with our cattell and goods, were all preserved alive. The Lords name be blessed forever.

"2ly. It was very delightfull, while we tooke pleasure & instruction in beholding the workes and wonders of the Almighty in the deepe; the sea sometimes beeing rough with mighty mounteynes and deepe valleyes, sometimes againe plaine and smooth like a levell meadow, and sometimes painted with variety of yellow weedes: besides it was a pleasant thing to behold the variety of fowles & mighty fishes swimming and living in the waters.

"3ly. It was comfortable to us, by meanes of the fellowship of divers godly Christians in the ship, & by meanes of our constant serving God morning & evening every day, the dayly dutyes beeing performed one day by Mr. Maud, another by myselfe, and the Sabbath exercises divided (for the most part) equally betwixt us two."—Pp. 28—34.

The storm through which Richard Mather and his shipmates rode in safety, and which he so well describes, proved very destructive both by land and water. It is mentioned in a contemporary narrative as "so mighty a storm as the like was never known in New England since the English came." A vessel sailing between Piscataqua and the Bay was lost, and in it, amongst others, Mr. Avery, a minister, his wife, six children and servants, were drowned. When the storm was at its height, and Mr. Avery expected that each wave would be the wave of death, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, saying, "Lord, I cannot challenge a promise of the preservation of my life, but according to thy covenant I challenge heaven." No sooner had he uttered these words, but a wave immediately came and swept him away, "and so," as the biographer of Richard Mather says, "wafted him to heaven indeed."

Of this shipwreck a very affecting narrative exists, written by Anthony Thacher (an ancestor of several eminent ministers, some known in our day), who with his wife succeeded in getting on shore on a desolate island, since named "Thacher's Island," about two miles east of Cape Anne. Their four children were lost.

THE PROPOSED UNITARIAN MISSIONS.

The British and Foreign Unitarian Association is about to enter with spirit on the work of Unitarian Missions. We extract from the Report of the Committee, which is now ready for publication, some passages explanatory of their plans. We may add, that the mission into Staffordshire is now arranged, the congregation at Newcastle-under-Lyne having concurred with the Committee in inviting Rev. John Ellis, of Diss, to enter on this work. He has accepted the invitation, and will remove to Newcastle at Michaelmas. The mission into Kent is not finally arranged, but it is probable that before our Magazine is in the hands of our readers, the congregations of Headcorn and Cranbrook and the Committee of the Association will have agreed upon a plan of action, and on a minister and missionary to whom they can entrust its execution. No one has yet been found to whom the Committee of the British and Foreign and the Scottish Unitarian Association can confide the mission in the latter country. But they have made a temporary arrangement with Rev. Alexander Gordon, late of Manchester New College, to supply the pulpit at Aberdeen during the months of August, September and October.

The several missions will need, and we think will deserve, aid. Our friends may help the Committee by subscriptions to be specially applied to the support of the missions, and by presents of books and tracts likely to be useful to religious inquirers. Our ministers can render valuable help by occasional exchanges with the missionaries in their several districts, by sympathy and counsel, and by devoting leisure days, whether in the week or on Sunday, to public services, lectures and meetings in aid of the mission.

Already we are happy to observe that friends are sending in contributions to the fund for the missions.

"It appears to the Committee that the Association will now be justified in entering on new and enlarged plans of usefulness. They have anxiously considered what course it was their duty, under these altered and pleasing circumstances, to recommend for adoption. They have come to the conclusion that the signs of the times are favourable to new and enlarged missionary action. The agitation which has recently been going on in many circles of English society, shewing the dissatisfaction of earnest and thoughtful men with many of the old systems of theology, and the refusal of some of the more powerful ecclesiastical organizations to modify and improve their establishments and creeds and mode of worship, and the openly avowed refusal of some of them to grant to those within their pale greater freedom, whether in speculation or in religious action,—these circumstances seem to combine to call upon Unitarians to be more earnest and united, and better organized to make known their views of Christian truth, and to invite those of their fellow-countrymen who need a free ecclesiastical system and a rational and benignant form of Christian theology, to listen to them, and, if convinced, to act with them.

"It has, after careful consideration and correspondence with intelligent friends in different parts of the country, appeared to the Committee that several independent missions for the diffusion of Unitarian Christianity might now be advantageously attempted. In selecting their ground of operation, the Committee have been guided not only by the need of the several districts in which they propose to make trial of missionary action, but also by the prospects of success, one important element of which is the existence of local organizations and of intelligent and well-affected individuals ready to act with and help your Association in its missionary plans.

"They believe that Scotland is now ripe for a Unitarian mission. To this conclusion the Rev. H. W. Crosskey, of Glasgow, the Rev. R. B. Drummond, of Edinburgh, and other friends in those cities, in Aberdeen and elsewhere, appear to have come; and hence the re-establishment of the Scottish Unitarian Association. Some extracts from the report recently transmitted by the officers of that Society to your Committee, will place the wants and prospects of the Scottish Unitarian churches clearly in view.

"The Committee recommend that the sum of £100 should during the next year be set apart towards aiding a mission in Scotland; that the Committee of this Association be instructed to co-operate with the Committee of the Scottish Association, and to unite with them in employing at least one missionary, in selecting the ground for his work, and in directing his operations.

"Another locality which appears to your Committee favourable for missionary effort is that of the Potteries in Staffordshire. Here there is no local Unitarian Association, although there are organizations in neighbouring counties from which some aid may be sought. But here there are Unitarians not a few—some in most of the towns of that busy district; and there is one Unitarian church, that of Newcastle-under-Lyne, which is now seeking a pastor, and is happily willing and anxious to co-operate with your Association. It is believed that a minister may be found who will prove acceptable to the Newcastle congregation, and who, with their consent, will devote a portion both of his sabbath and week days to missionary duty at Redwood, Hanley, Burslem, Longton, and other easily accessible stations where there is a known opening for Unitarian worship.

"The Committee recommend that for this scheme the sum of £100 should be set apart during the ensuing year.

"In looking round for a third missionary district, your Committee have, though with less strong and hopeful convictions than in the two former cases, selected the Weald of Kent. In this county there is an organized Society—at present, however, possessing no funds—willing to co-operate with your Committee, and there are several chapels and congregations, now imperfectly supplied with or wholly wanting ministerial service, which are within an easy distance from Tenterden and from each other. The two principal of these are Headcorn and Cranbrook; both are General Baptist foundations and have small endowments. At Headcorn there is a good parsonage house. Now it has appeared to your Committee that if the two congregations named could agree to elect a minister in whom your Committee could place confidence, he might, in addition to the supply of these two pulpits, render occasional services at Rolvenden and Northiam, where there are Unitarian General Baptist chapels, but no ministers. The missionary might also keep up occasional intercourse with the more distant Unitarian churches at Hastings, Battle and Deal.

"The Committee desire to acknowledge the friendly spirit in which they have in their inquiries and negociation been met by Rev. J. A. Briggs, of Tenterden, who at present conducts a religious service in the afternoon at Headcorn; and also the kind and friendly co-operation offered by Rev. R. E. B. Maclellan, Rev. Edward Talbot and other friends, both ministerial and lay, in Kent. Those friends are willing, if a mission can be established in the county, to make a small annual contribution of from £20 to £30.

"It is the wish of the Committee, under all the circumstances, to recommend this locality to the favourable consideration of their successors in office, and, should the different interests and parties affected be brought into harmonious action, to recommend that a sum not exceeding £75 should during the next twelve months be appropriated to the support of a mission in Kent.

"In making these recommendations, the Committee know that the proposed expenditure will exceed the present means of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and that an appeal must be made to the zeal and liberality of their friends throughout the country to enable them to carry out the suggested plans. Without indulging in extravagant predictions, the Committee believe that there is sufficient basis of fact

and experience to justify the hope of at least a moderate success. In respect to Scotland and Staffordshire, they venture to anticipate considerable additions to existing Unitarian churches. In respect to Kent, they believe that an important result will be achieved in enabling several feeble churches to unite, and by union to pass safely through a period of weakness and difficulty.

"The Committee select various documents bearing on the state and prospects of Unitarian Christianity in Scotland, the Potteries of Staffordshire and Kent.

"1. Scotland.

"During the past year, the Scottish Unitarian Association has been re-organized, under circumstances of hopeful promise. The first annual meeting was held in Glasgow upon November 11, 1861. Representatives were present from all the Scotch churches, and a hearty welcome was given to the Rev. R. B. Aspland, as the representative of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. As a means of connecting together the different churches in Scotland for the purposes of mutual encouragement and support, of bringing the Scottish into fellowship with the British and Foreign Association, and of stimulating every individual to renewed exertions, this meeting was one of the most important, as it was one of the most numerous and influential meetings, ever held in Scotland in connection with the Unitarian cause. In Scotland, our churches are so widely scattered, and the struggle to be sustained is everywhere so intense, that the establishment of this Association becomes a matter of grave moment.

"In Scotland there are now five Unitarian churches, viz., at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Paisley and Girvan. Upon these five churches rests the responsibility of sustaining the Unitarian cause against the most powerful Protestant organizations existing in the world. No Englishman who has not long resided in Scotland can understand the ecclesiastical influences with which the whole social atmosphere is pervaded. Here, Church courts are living realities and not shadows of the past; and presbyteries are among the powers that be. There is no such thing as a neutral platform; and the admission of a Unitarian minister even to a scientific and philosophical society, becomes a matter for grave debate. Under these circumstances, it is an achievement for a Unitarian church to hold its ground, and advance can only be made inch by inch and step by step. Since the formation of the Scottish Unitarian Association, more active missionary exertions have been made than during many preceding years; and what we have done and what we propose to do, will now be briefly noted in this report.

"I. Our first duty is to sustain our smaller congregations, and to work from our existing societies as centres of missionary activity. Girvan, under the faithful pastorship of Mr. Matthew Scott, who sets a noble example to Unitarian laymen, by taking charge of a church which otherwise would exist under grave difficulties, has been effectively aided by the Irish Association. Paisley has been visited at various times during the past year by one of the Secretaries of the Scottish Association, and signs of hopeful progress are evident in that small but earnest church. For many long years, under good report and ill, Mr. Callender has sustained this congregation, unsparing in toil, and anxious for no reward beyond the consciousness of duties well discharged. Among the venerable labourers for the Unitarian cause associated with the late lamented George Harris, many have likewise gone to their rest; among those still spared, Mr. Callender stands first. The lectures delivered and the religious services conducted, on the part of the Association, in Paisley during the past year, have proved that missionary work may be effectively carried on in that town. Aberdeen is unfortunately without a minister. The most emphatic want of our cause in Scotland at this hour is a minister for Aberdeen. There is a small church free of debt in that city. The congregation, although few, are eager for work. If a minister could be settled at Aberdeen for two years, there is little doubt that the church might become self-supporting. The Scottish Association has provided services for several Sundays during the past year; but the great distance of Aberdeen from other churches render a settled minister an indispensable necessity.

"II. In addition to granting aid to our smaller churches, various courses of lectures have been given in connection with the Association. Lectures bearing upon the Unitarian controversy have been delivered by various members in the districts around Glasgow, in the St. Vincent-Street church, in Airdrie and Greenock. The result of the year's experience has been to confirm the conviction that a respectful hearing may be obtained for Unitarian principles. The audiences have been composed of those to whom our gospel was *new* tidings, and much thoughtful inquiry was frequently excited. Our experience convinces us that the ground is ready for missionary work.

"III. With a view to next winter's work, a class has been formed in Glasgow, under the superintendence of one of the Secretaries of the Association, for the purpose of preparing its members for the duties of lecturing and lay preaching. As matters now stand, we can indeed say the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few. The ministers at Glasgow and Edinburgh are the only two men who can give their whole time to this great work; and the mighty influence of a hierarchy is daily felt against us. If a few lay preachers and lecturers can be trained, duties may be discharged which are now beyond the human strength of the one or two labourers in the field.

"The two great and pressing wants in Scotland now are—first, a settled minister at Aberdeen; second, a missionary at large. If we had a missionary, we propose that he should work from existing churches as centres. By his aid, the smaller churches would be refreshed and strengthened,—the ministers at Glasgow and Edinburgh would be from time to time able to leave their pulpits (a thing now almost impossible) and engage in missionary operations, while new ground could be broken up in promising districts. A missionary, dividing his time in the neighbourhoods of our existing churches and visiting the districts around them, would link to actual centres any new stations he might establish, and his labours, instead of being scattered and diffusive, would be compact and consolidated.

"Our great aim in all missionary action is not simply to gather together bands of controversialists, but societies of Christian worshipers. To persuade men, not only that the Unitarian church opposes popular errors, but that it can adequately supply the spiritual necessities of the Christian life, and sufficiently minister to the sanctities of Christian adoration, *this* is our watchful endeavour and our unceasing prayer.

"Glasgow, May 28, 1862." "HENRY W. CROSSKEY."

"2. STAFFORDSHIRE.

"Bradford, Yorkshire, May 12, 1862.

"Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 8th instant I received duly, and shall be most happy, as far as I can, to give you the result of my observation and experience in the district of the Potteries. The Potteries consists of about ten townships, which, taking Hanley as the centre, lie within a radius of three and a half miles. Seven years ago, when in connection with the General Baptists, I settled in Longton, but was deprived of my preaching place (the Town Hall) on the ground of heresy: at that time (five years ago) I had a congregation of about 700 people, which remained with me until scattered by having no room in which to worship. I went about three years ago to Newcastle, to the old Presbyterian place there. There was no congregation except about five or six people, sometimes even less. At the time I left, the night congregation was about 100, the morning 50 or 60. I mention these things to shew that there is ground for the opinion I now express, that a man of the right kind, well sustained, might do a great work in the Potteries.

"For a time, I am convinced that any effort made there must be sustained largely from the outside; for, with one exception, or two at most, there are no persons in the district who could do much financially. . . . The chapel at Newcastle is old, small and very inconvenient both in itself and in the location it occupies; nor is the town, as I think, the best for the centre of operations. Hanley would be better every way. There used to be a small chapel there, but it was sold, and I believe that about £100 which remained at the winding up of its affairs now lies in the hands of Mr. Godfrey Wedgwood, which would be available for any effort there. There still exists a small congregation at Longton, the residue of my work there, and in that town I know that there is a large amount of liberal, independent material which would speedily rally round any movement that promised success. The obstacles in the way of such a movement I imagine will be found to be,

"1st. The difficulty of securing places of meeting in the different towns: there is a scarcity of these; and what there are, are for the most part in the hands of persons who would oppose you.

"2nd. The Potteries is the stronghold of Methodism (New Connection), and has been for many years. The people have been in the habit of having money *screwed* out of them, and do not understand voluntary giving; they have also *been governed*, and in corporate matters are almost incapable of self-government. If I could have been sustained by such a Society as yours, I think I could have succeeded, and should not have sought another sphere of labour.

"If in any other way I can help you in forming an estimate of this district, I shall be most happy. I wish I could have been with you at your meeting, to have answered any questions that may arise.

"Most faithfully yours, "T. W. FRECKELTON."

"Diss, Norfolk, May 10, 1862.

"Dear Mr. Aspland,—Your very welcome letter is to hand, and the box and its contents all right. Many thanks, in which Mr. Fields joins. The tracts will be useful.

"Permit me through you to thank the British and Foreign Unitarian Association for its generous grant of books; they shall be well employed.

"As to the mission question, I have requested Mr. Statham, of Hanley, to supply you with such information as I cannot give. I may say, however, that within five miles of Newcastle there is a population of 200,000, an unusually large portion of whom are hard-headed working men, who are repelled by orthodoxy and attend no place of worship. The Methodist New Connection appears to exercise the greatest religious influence in the Potteries.

"In Newcastle, Chesterton, Stoke and Burslem, *Church* power predominates; in Hanley, Longton, Redstreet, Silverdale, Etruria and Tunstal, Dissent prevails and rules.

"On inquiry I was informed that at the following places, rooms might be obtained and mission stations formed:

At Newcastle,	population	12,000,	we have a chapel.
At Longton,	,,	24,000,	,,
At Redstreet,	,,	3,000,	,,
At Etruria,	,,	1,200,	an infant-school.
At Hanley,	,,	35,000,	rooms might be obtained.
At Silverdale,	,,	3,000,	,,
At Stoke,	,,	11,000,	,,
At Tunstal,	,,	16,000,	,,
At Chesterton,	,,	3,000,	,,
At Burslem,	,,	27,000,	,,

"I was also told that in each of these places are Unitarians, and that six lay preachers are willing to co-operate with an earnest missionary who is able and willing to take the lead in a practical Christian mission. When I visited Newcastle, I determined to test the general feeling of our congregation there on the subject of what some people call old-fashioned Unitarian Christianity, the kind of Christianity that is expounded in Scott Porter's Twelve Lectures; and I feel assured that had the Newcastle people been mere negative theologians or cold philosophical speculators, they would never have given me such a warm invitation to become their minister.

"I lectured at Longton on 'Christian Liberty.' I issued no placard; the only notice given was on the Sunday evening previous, when a lay preacher conducted the service, and we had about 40 in attendance.

"The chapel had only been opened six weeks for Unitarian worship; it was a deserted Swedenborgian chapel; and in that short time 60 children had been gathered and 14 teachers obtained as the commencement of a Sunday-school.

"I have no doubt as to the success of a mission there if a practical plan be adopted, and a faithful, earnest missionary appointed. . . .

"John Ellis."

"3. Kent.

"Tenterden, May 12, 1862.

"My dear Sir,—I will first give you the information you ask for, and then give you my opinion as to missionary efforts in this district.

"You ask for a detailed statement of the condition of the congregations at Cranbrook, Rolvenden, Northiam, Battle and Hastings.

"Cranbrook is a General Baptist congregation, and is supplied once a month by Mr. Black, of London; but Mr. Badcock, of Cranbrook, a trustee of the chapel, whom I saw last Friday, says that it is very irregularly supplied; a service once in the day is, I believe, given by a layman, Mr. Alfred Dobell. The religious society here is at a very low ebb. If our Baptist brethren would cordially work with the Association, some good might be done here. There is a very small endowment, some £15 a-year. If they would co-operate, this would be a help. There is a very excellent chapel at Cranbrook. Cranbrook is the head-quarters of high Calvinism, and in consequence of the death of Mr. Hodges, our late Liberal Member, it is likely that High-churchism and Toryism will become very powerful in this district, Mr. Hardy, a High-churchman and Conservative, having purchased Mr. Hodges's estates. This therefore is likely to be a very dark place, and it is a pity therefore that our candle here should go out if it can be kept alight. But the very circumstances which make help so needful render success more doubtful. But if the Baptists *will* work with us, I should say, try.

"The chapels at Rolvenden and Northiam are both closed. Both these are General

Baptist chapels, and were supplied for many years very efficiently by lay preachers. The late Mr. Payne (great-uncle of Mr. Iden Payne, of Northampton), who preached at Rolvenden, was the very model of a village preacher. Mr. Blundell and Mr. Edwards, of Northiam, were also very useful preachers at the chapel there. Mr. Payne and Mr. Blundell were shoemakers, and Mr. Edwards a farmer. This race of men has died out in this neighbourhood; and the question now is whether, on the scene where they so long laboured, Unitarian Christianity shall die out with them. As for salaries, these men never had any; and it would be deceiving the Association to hold out the expectation that the labourers and very small tradesmen of whom these congregations almost entirely consisted, will ever raise nearly enough to support a minister. A few years have now elapsed since service was regularly conducted at either Northiam or Rolvenden, so that the best way to look at the matter will be *to regard the district as new ground, but with chapels free from debt already provided.* No doubt to re-open the chapels will bring back some of their old frequenters.

"The Kent and Sussex Unitarian Association have no funds, and for the last few years our operations have been confined to an annual re-union. This of course is not a satisfactory state of things. The fact is, that there are but two strictly Unitarian congregations in Kent, viz., Maidstone and Tenterden, historically Presbyterian; all the other Kentish societies are General Baptists, viz., Canterbury, Dover, Chatham, Deptford, Bessel's Green, Headcorn, Rolvenden and Cranbrook. The Baptists have their own annual Association. It is a misnomer now to add Sussex to our title. Some of our laymen have been much dissatisfied with this state of things; and our Secretary, Mr. Maclellan, is about to call a meeting of the laity and clergy of this diocese at Headcorn, to consider what should be done and to hit upon some plan of usefulness. It seems to me that the suggestion of missionary effort in your letter has come most opportunely. This year is the jubilee of our Association, a very fit time therefore for revival and renewed effort; and I cannot but think that if the Unitarian Association in London were to make some such suggestion as that which you propose, viz., to find a missionary for this county on condition of the Unitarians in Kent finding one-third of the sum required, that it would be productive of much good; and as at Cranbrook, Rolvenden and Northiam, chapels are already provided, that these places be the chief stations of the missionary's labours. If a proposition of this sort were made to our Secretary, Mr. Maclellan, it could be taken into consideration at the approaching meeting at Headcorn.

"I should think Cranbrook would be the best place as the centre of the mission; house-rent is low in this district. There is a great deficiency of public conveyances; the missionary would very often have to walk or hire.

EDWARD TALBOT."

"*Report of the Deputation to Headcorn to the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.*

"In fulfilment of the resolution of the Committee, we accepted the invitation of Rev. R. E. B. Maclellan to meet the Committee of the Kent and Sussex Unitarian Society at Headcorn, and proceeded to that place on Tuesday, May 27. We there had the pleasure of meeting Rev. R. E. B. Maclellan and Mr. Ellis, of Maidstone; Rev. Edward Talbot, Rev. J. A. Briggs, Mr. Mace, and other friends from Tenterden; Rev. T. B. W. Briggs, of Dover; and one of the members of the Headcorn congregation.

"We learnt from the friends present that the proposal of a mission into Kent had had the effect of stopping a possible dissolution of the Kent and Sussex Association; that the Committee were desirous of some more practical object than they had hitherto had, and would gladly co-operate with the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in promoting a Unitarian mission. They generally described the condition of the Unitarian churches in Kent (with the exception of Tenterden) as languid and weak. At Cranbrook and Headcorn there are small endowments of General Baptist foundation. They thought that if the two congregations could agree in choosing a minister who could give his morning service at Cranbrook and his afternoon service at Headcorn (seven miles distant), the result would be satisfactory. Week-day and other occasional services might be given at Northiam and Rolvenden, and visits might occasionally be paid at Deal and other places where there is no resident minister.

"Mr. Briggs, who at present preaches once each Sunday at Headcorn, states that the congregation has greatly increased since he began his afternoon service, and believes that it might still further increase under a zealous resident minister. He, Mr. Talbot and Mr. Maclellan proffered their willingness to direct a mission if established in this way, and by occasional exchanges and other means to give aid to missionary action.

"The congregation at Cranbrook is small, and it is feared less unanimous than might be desired. Rev. W. H. Black, of London, is nominally minister at Cranbrook, but does not often supply the pulpit. It is supposed that he would be not unwilling to concur in any arrangement made for regular service at Cranbrook.

"In respect to financial aid, it was thought that the Kentish churches could do but little. But possibly a contribution of from £25 to £30 could be obtained. Tenterden would have to do the most.

"It was stated that at Tunbridge there is a small fund available for the support of Unitarian worship, the result of the sale of an ancient chapel. There are a few Unitarians there, with whom it would be the duty of a missionary to put himself into friendly communication.

"The friends assembled at Headcorn did not countenance the expectation of large or immediate success as likely to follow missionary plans in Kent. They did not expect that societies likely to sustain themselves could be raised at Northiam or Rolvenden; but they thought that a mission might be the means of keeping alive Unitarian faith and worship in several places where otherwise it must die out. Before parting, the assembled ministers and friends agreed to the following resolution, a copy of which was placed by the Chairman, Rev. Edward Talbot, in the hands of the deputation:

"'At a meeting of the Unitarians and General Baptists of the county of Kent, held at Headcorn, May 27, it was resolved, That it is desirable that Unitarian missionary efforts should be resumed in this county, and that this meeting recommends that funds should be raised for that purpose, and will be most happy to act in conjunction with the Unitarian Association.'

"One of the deputation has since conversed with the Rev. J. C. Means, and has received from him assurances of the goodwill of the General Baptist body, and their willingness to aid this Association in any plans likely to be useful. Mr. Means at the same time expressed himself as not sanguine of successful results from missionary agency in Kent.

"The deputation have to express their sense of the great courtesy and kindness of the ministers and friends in Kent, and would also record their sense of the great candour and fairness of all the statements made.

"R. Brook Aspland.
"Alfred Lawrence."

QUESTIONS FOR MR. SHARPE'S PRIZES AT THE RECENT EXAMINATION AT CARMARTHEN COLLEGE, JUNE, 1862.

1. What is the difference between Ναζωραιος and Ναζαρηνος? And what passages in the writings of the Prophets are alluded to in Matt. ii. 23, "He will be called a Ναζωραιος"?

2. Explain the double play upon words in Numbers xxiv. 21, in the original Hebrew, "Thou puttest thy nest in a rock."

3. In Genesis x. 7—11, Havitah and Sheba and Ashur are said to be children of Ham; but in Genesis x. 22—29, the same tribes are said to be children of Shem. Explain which ethnological opinion is likely to have been most modern among the Hebrew writers, and which opinion agrees best with our present writers on ethnology, adding the reasons upon which such opinions may be founded.

4. In Psalm lxxii., gold is mentioned as being brought from Sheba; in Ps. xlv., it is said to be brought from Ophir. If we judge by these expressions, which Psalm is the most modern? and what historical event must we place between the two writings?

5. Suetonius tells us that at the time of Nero's death, the Jews popularly believed that he was not really dead, but that he would shortly return again to take upon himself the empire. Where does that opinion shew itself in the book of Revelation?

6. Jeremiah tells us in chap. vii. 22, that when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, the Lord gave them no command whatever about burnt-offerings. How is this to be reconciled with the full commands on the subject of burnt-offerings in the books of Leviticus and Numbers?

7. Which other books of the Old Testament speak slightingly of burnt-offerings, and which speak of them as important?

8. From a comparison of Jeremiah chap. i. and Ezra chap. vii. with the genealogies in 1 Chron. chap. vi., state the relationship of Ezra to Jeremiah, and both of them to Hilkiah, who found the Book of the Law in the temple in the reign of King Josiah.

9. From a comparison of the writings of Jeremiah with our five books of the Mosaic Law, which is probably the book that Hilkiah then wrote?

10. Does the phrase in the Hebrew of "chariots of Egypt and captains over every one of them," in Exodus xiv. 7, tell us the number of soldiers that rode in each chariot? and if so, how many were they?

11. What are we to understand by the injunction given to Paul by his fellow-apostles in Galatians ii. 10, that he should remember the poor? What poor? and on what occasions?

12. What part of Balaam's conduct is it that is particularly blamed in Revelation ii. 14 and Jude 11?

13. The last twelve verses in Mark have been thought to be a modern addition; if so, from which of the older Gospels are the facts copied?

14. Many persons mentioned in the New Testament have both a Hebrew and a Greek name, of which one is the translation of the other: of what New-Testament name may Cleopas, mentioned in Luke xxiv. 16, be a translation?

15. Are there any grounds for thinking that persons and places are in the Bible called occasionally by wrong names? and may we suppose that Jeroboam, who Amos says will die by the sword, meant any other king? and which?

16. What passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews may be supposed to shew any traces of Alexandrian opinions?

17. What grounds are there for thinking that Barnabas, like Apollos of Alexandria, was educated in Alexandrian opinions?

18. Who is John, mentioned in Acts xii. 5 as the companion of Paul?

19. Which are the words quoted from the Old Testament as "this scripture" in Acts i. 16?

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Reminiscences, Personal and Bibliographical, of Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D., F.S.A., D.D. of the University of Pennsylvania; Rector of the United Parishes of St. Edmund the King and Martyr, and St. Nicholas Acons, in the City of London; Prebendary of St. Paul's; and Author of "An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." With Notes by his Daughter, Sarah Anne Cheyne, and a short Introduction by the Rev. Joseph B. M'Caul. Pp. 208. London—Longmans.

In forwarding to us a copy of this work, our friendly correspondent, Rev. Benjamin Mardon, addressed these remarks:

"I observed the announcement of this publication with much pleasure. It was about twenty-six years ago that I was introduced to this well-known writer in the British Museum by the late excellent Richard Taylor, the printer. Mr. T., knowing him so well, did not, I believe, mention his name to me, so that I had to find it out for myself. Mr. Horne may have heard my name, and, presuming that I knew who he was, spoke of his having reviewed the second volume of Scholtz, upon which I was then myself engaged. See C. R., Vol. III. p. 123.

"Some of my readers may not be prepared to find that Mr. Horne was in early life much connected with the Wesleyan Methodists, and that his first distinct religious impressions were in that communion. His name must have been well known in that connection, and we would fain believe that young men for the ministry among the Wesleyans may have known something of learned divinity from the pages of Hartwell Horne. Nay, why should not the colleges of the Wesleyans have been partly owing to his instruction?

"We have, however, to speak of the episcopal patronage which Mr. Horne received, and which should not be grudged, though the truth should be told, that the learning of Mr. Horne was filched from the Presbyterian ministers,—from Lardner, Leland, Wakefield, Benson and Taylor downwards. We had been long aware of the great obligations under which Mr. Horne laid himself to this class of ministers, altogether deserving at his hands of the fullest acknowledgment. We hope we should have expressed the same sentiment if the injury had not been sustained by our own body; and we have pleasure in quoting a writer in the Christian Reformer for 1856, who has properly shewn to the public, *during Mr. Horne's life*, the extent of these obligations. 'The value of the contents of Horne's Introduction, or its utility as a Christian apology, it is not now intended to deny. On the contrary, it may be pronounced to be an excellent *vade mecum* on the wide range of subjects which it treats, containing as it does a collection of passages, not more remarkable for their extent and variety than for their valuable quality, derived from some of the most able and accomplished of Christian apologists, Unitarian and Trinitarian.'—C. R., 1856, p. 77.

"It should be said that Horne's references to Lardner in particular are very abundant, and the extracts from his works copious. Nor need any man hesitate to acknowledge his obligations to this great writer, to whom Dr. Paley in his Evidences shews himself to have been so greatly indebted. But then the renown of this distinguished apologist for

Christianity (the most extensively useful, perhaps, since the age of the apostles) ought to secure for that class of Christians to which he belonged a far greater measure of confidence, sympathy and gratitude.

"The Bishop of London (Bloomfield) bestowed on Mr. Horne two livings in Cheapside. Other Bishops gave him commendation, Dr. Copplestone of Llandaff, Dr. Jebb of Limerick, and perhaps others. We begrudge no commendation; but truth, which Unitarian ministers may be supposed to aim at, without worldly reward, compels me to say that Horne, though a voluminous publisher, and one who has done good to many others as well as to himself, was no original theologian, and beyond measure inferior to Dr. Edmund Law, Bishops Marsh, Maltby and Dr. Parr, all of whom remained in the Church of England. The day cometh which will try every man's work. Let every man act with sincerity and love of Christian truth. B. M."

An examination of the Reminiscences has been attended with sufficient interest to induce us to give a slight sketch of the career of Thomas Hartwell Horne, whose name will henceforth be added to the not short list of our countrymen who have successfully pursued the search of knowledge amidst difficulties and discouragements.

Hartwell Horne was born of humble parentage, being the son of the clerk of a barrister, Robert Graham, afterwards a Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

By the presentation of Arthur Murphy, a friend of Baron Graham, young Horne was put on the foundation of Christ's Hospital. His studies at that excellent institution were going on between 1789 and 1795. Coleridge was during two of those years head Grecian. An intimacy sprung up between the youths, Coleridge giving Horne instruction in the summer vacation of 1790, and receiving hospitality in return from the family. By the help thus given, Horne was advanced earlier than he ventured to hope into the upper school, ably conducted by Rev. James Boyer, whose name and peculiarities are sufficiently familiar to the careful readers of the Biographia Literaria. The school was at that time far from perfect. The juniors were ruled by the senior boys with a rod of iron. Neither writing nor arithmetic was taught in the grammar-school. All the instruction young Horne had in these necessary elements of learning after he entered Christ's Hospital, was from the voluntary lessons of a writing schoolboy during a vacation. The head master was deficient in that cardinal virtue of a schoolmaster, good temper. Besides Coleridge, Horne numbered among his schoolfellows Barnes (of the *Times*), Greenwood, afterwards Head Master of the Hospital, and Rev. J. R. Pitman, Preacher of the Magdalen and Foundling Hospital.

In the summer of 1793 he lost his father, and was left the eldest of six orphan children. He became clerk to a barrister, and continued in that humble station for eight years. Mr. Toller, son of the eminent Independent minister of Kettering, who afterwards went out to India, was his first employer. He occupied his leisure, which was considerable, in private, undirected, unhelped study. French he studied after a very singular fashion, by translating Rolle's Norman French Abridgment of the Law of England. A strange vocabulary must have been the result,—much as if a Frenchman were to get hold of a law-book in English and French of the age of Henry VIII. or earlier. He now and

then asked and received help as to a French idiom from the bookseller from whom he had bought his little stock of French books. His knowledge of Latin he endeavoured to keep up by writing out a Latin Grammar.

His salary was somewhere about eight shillings a-week, and that at a time when the coarsest loaf cost eighteen-pence. Necessity first made him an author. His Christian faith had been shaken by reading an infidel novel of French extraction. To re-establish his mind, he turned his attention to the important subject of Christian evidences. At his master's house he had access to some good books; amongst them he found Leland on the State of Religion in the Heathen World. He read it, became settled in his faith, and from the knowledge thus gained prepared a little work entitled, "A Brief View of the Necessity of the Christian Religion," which he fortunately was enabled to sell to a bookseller for two guineas. In his twentieth year he had the gratification of seeing his work in print, which had indeed been prepared two years earlier.

When his employment with Mr. Toller ceased, he obtained a situation as amanuensis to Dr. Willich, who was then compiling his "Domestic Encyclopædia." He lived in the Dr.'s house, and by rising early was able to amuse and instruct himself with the books in the library. He digested at this time many volumes of the Monthly Review.

But still his religious views were far from being settled. He sometimes wandered into the Roman Catholic chapel, and was not insensible to the attractions of music. A Roman Catholic, designing to complete the conversion which he hoped had begun, lent him "Challoner's Grounds and Reasons of the Old Religion." Horne was able to undo the web of its reasonings, and sent to his friend a MS. answer. Presently afterwards he was attracted by curiosity to a Wesleyan chapel, and he was greatly impressed by the preaching of Rev. Joseph Benson. The sermon which effected his conversion was delivered on the first Sunday evening of 1801, "How long halt ye between two opinions?"

In the following year, Mr. Horne wrote an essay on the Causes of Infidelity, but was not now fortunate in finding a purchaser of his work. On leaving Dr. Willich's service, he obtained a situation with a Roman Catholic barrister of the name of Crewes, and also obtained occasional literary employment from the more celebrated Charles Butler. He found his means too small for his domestic wants, especially when in 1805 he had to provide money in aid of a younger brother then leaving Christ's Hospital. He obtained literary occupation from one of the firms in *the Row*. But the manner and the terms shew how often literature is disgraced by some of the wretched traders who gain subsistence by it. For an *effectual* introduction to Mr. Crosby, of Stationers' Court, Mr. Horne had to pay to *his friend* half the gross receipts paid him for his literary labours. He was set to work on "The Complete Grazier," which gave him nine months' work and produced £50. Paying half the sum to his introducer, there would be left to him about 13*s*. a-week for his uncongenial toil.

After a day's employment in chambers, he returned to his humble cottage in Lambeth, and then, refreshing and stimulating himself with strong tea, he began his toils of the pen and brain, which lasted far into the night.

In 1806, his connection with the Wesleyan body gave him a good turn, as he obtained a clerkship with fair remuneration under Mr. Butterworth, the law bookseller and Member of Parliament. Mr. Horne became superintendent of the Lambeth chapel Sunday-school, and discharged other offices in connection with Wesleyan associations. He was occasionally called upon to read prayers from the Book of Common Prayer at Lambeth chapel.

The useful compilation by which eventually Mr. Horne became so widely known in his "Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures," was a work of which he conceived the plan as early as the year 1801. But it was not till 1812 that the course of reading he had prescribed to himself was accomplished and he began the composition of his book.

By Mr. Butterworth's kindness he was introduced to Mr. Caley, then Keeper of the Records at Westminster, and was entrusted with the formation of laborious indexes for the Catalogue of Harleian MSS. and other works of a similar character. He seems by his industry and intelligence always to have conciliated the confidence and esteem of his employers, and rose, as he deserved to do, by every change. His employment as a clerk in the Record Office brought him into communication with Mr. Speaker Abbot (afterwards Lord Colchester), who proved a useful patron.

In 1809, he was elected Sub-Librarian of the Surrey Institution, Dr. Adam Clarke being the Librarian in chief.

Rising year by year in his worldly position, he succeeded in 1812 in contracting a marriage with an amiable and well-educated lady, the daughter of Mr. John Millard, of Cordwainers' Hall.

Although most of his leisure hours were given to the "Introduction," he found time to prepare and publish a useful work on the "Study of Bibliography," and also edited for two or three years the "Literary Panorama," which was afterwards merged in the New Monthly Magazine.

In the summer of 1818, the first edition of his "Introduction" appeared in two volumes 8vo. A third and supplementary volume appeared six months after. The book was received graciously by several of the Bishops and others at the head of theological training institutions, and the author's position and repute became at once established. The Bishop of London (Dr. Howley), disregarding Mr. Horne's want of an University degree, consented in 1819, in acknowledgment of his service to sacred literature, to give him ordination. He entered himself a student at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he ultimately proceeded to the degree of B.D. His first curacy was that of Christ Church, Newgate Street, the rector and vicar being Rev. Samuel Crowther.

He now adventured to appear as a champion of the doctrines of the Church which had admitted him to serve at its altar, and published in 1820 a statement and defence of the "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," and a vindication of the Church of England from the charge of uncharitableness in retaining the Athanasian Creed.

It is many years since we had the opportunity of reading this tract, which is in fact the substance of two sermons preached on Trinity Sunday. If we may trust a distant and dim recollection of it, the plea

for the mysterious doctrine in question was not more clear or convincing than most attempts of the kind to reconcile to reason and charity a doctrine and a creed which seem to be little in harmony with either. Mr. Horne abstained from all attempts at novelty in the conduct of his argument, and his work was publicly quoted and praised by Bishop Bloomfield.

In 1821, Mr. Horne began to prepare for Queen's College, Cambridge, a classed Catalogue of its valuable library. The Catalogue eventually appeared in two large and handsome volumes, and is in many respects a model classed Catalogue.

Towards the end of 1821, a second and greatly enlarged edition of his Introduction appeared, and was received with warmer favour than the first. In a letter of acknowledgment for a copy, Archdeacon Wrangham, then examining chaplain of the Archbishop of York, writes: "I am threatened, it seems, in return for a passage in my late Charge, with the anti-visitation of a Socinian controversy. But I feel 'thrice armed' in my cause." The Archdeacon of course refers to the "Three Letters" addressed to him by Rev. Charles Wellbeloved. Those who are most familiar with that remarkable controversy and its issue, so little in accordance with the wishes of the orthodox party, will smile at the expression of the confidence of their champion. It illustrates the wisdom of Ahab's message to Benhadad—*Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off.*

In 1825, the rector of Christ Church died, and Mr. Horne lost his curacy in that parish. While Bishops and noble Lords were thanking him for his book, which they praised perhaps much beyond its merits as a substantial service to theological literature, its industrious author was left to fatten on barren compliment. None of the pleasant sinecures or the substantial benefices of the Church were given him in reward of his labours. Presently he got a ministerial post of a humble and not lucrative kind, a reader at Marylebone chapel, which he held till 1833.

A cleverly-executed piracy of his Introduction gave him much annoyance in 1826, especially as the lawyers whom he consulted did not lead him to believe that an application to the Courts would give him substantial redress. He succeeded, however, in putting the piratical work out of the English market by making and publishing with the greatest expedition possible an abridgment of his own work, which was sold at half the price charged for the piratical volume.

It was not until 1831 that any ecclesiastical preferment was given him, and then it came in the shape of a Prebendal Stall in St. Paul's, producing the large income of £11, and costing in entrance dues £100!

In 1833, he was, however, rewarded and cheered by an appointment, at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to a benefice, the rectory of St. Edmund the King, Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street, of the value of £305 per annum. So large a portion of the buildings in the small parish are occupied by banking establishments and counting-houses, that the parochial duty was light. Mr. Horne appears to have made a faithful and industrial use of his opportunities of fulfilling the cure of souls. As chaplain to the Lord Mayor (Kelly), he was brought into the round of civic ecclesiastical duties and honours. He breakfasted and read prayers daily at the Mansion House during his year of office.

In the year that he obtained his preferment, Mr. Horne put out his Bibliographical Notes on the Book of Jasher. He thus describes that literary imposture:

"'The Book of Jasher .... translated into English from the Hebrew by Alcuin of Britain, who went a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,' is the title of an anonymous pamphlet in quarto, which is now known to have been composed, printed (it is said by night in his bed-room), and published for two shillings and sixpence, by JACOB ILIVE, a non-sane infidel printer at London, in the year 1751. It was reprinted at Bristol in 1829, in a thin quarto volume, at the modest price of one guinea, and with a list of nearly one thousand credulous subscribers; the editor of which publication appears to have believed that it really was the long-lost 'Book of Jasher.' My 'Bibliographical Notes' were undertaken at the urgent request of a friend, a woollen-manufacturer in Gloucestershire, who, as well as many other neighbouring manufacturers, had literally been *taken in* to purchase a copy of this literary forgery, as being the genuine 'Book of Jasher;' and also in the hope of preventing unwary readers from being imposed upon by a second edition, for which a prospectus was extensively circulated. These 'Notes' contain a history of the forgery, and a detection of its falsehoods, anachronisms and contradictions of the Holy Scriptures."—Pp. 73, 74.

It was chiefly owing to Mr. Horne's exertions that the tercentenary Jubilee of the Reformation in England was celebrated. He put out on that occasion a useful summary of facts, entitled the "Protestant Memorial," of which in three months as many as 14,000 copies were circulated.

The controversy with the Romish Church was one in which Mr. Horne took a deep interest. As might be anticipated from his religious history and the early influences of Wesleyanism on his mind, he had no sympathy with the Puseyism which he saw springing up around him at this time. He defended the Protestant faith, according to his views of it, in several sermons, tracts and magazine articles. Indirectly he promoted the cause of the Reformed faith by serving on the Committee of the Parker Society, which published more than half-a-hundred volumes, reprints, with biographical introductions, of the works of the Fathers of the Church of England.

Mr. Horne had the gratification of seeing ten editions issued of his Introduction. Of these, nine were prepared for the press by himself. The tenth was, in consequence of Mr. Horne's age and infirmities, entrusted to other hands, and greatly was he mortified by finding his own orthodox views of the Inspiration of the Scriptures subjected to the modifications of modern theology, in the hands of the editor of the second volume of his work, Dr. Samuel Davidson. The result was, as our readers doubtless remember, that Dr. D.'s portion was severed from the rest of the work, and another edition, prepared to order and duly orthodox, was substituted by Rev. John Ayre. But recent events have shewn that no agreement of the friends of the old orthodoxy of Protestant Churches can suppress even in their own boundaries, fenced and guarded though most of them are at so many other points, the results of free inquiry and a theology possessing any claims to a scientific character.

Mr. Horne's services at the British Museum were continued to a very late period of his life. He had risen to be Senior Assistant Librarian, and devoted much time and thought to the new Catalogue now in the

course of formation under the direction of Mr. Panizzi, the principal Librarian. In 1855, he received a silver inkstand from his colleagues in the department of printed books, as a mark of their esteem and affection for him after thirty years of service in the institution. Five years after, in 1860, he retired from his post.

Mr. Horne's domestic life was happy, though not unmarked by sorrows, the principal of which were the loss, in 1835, of a daughter aged sixteen years, and in July 1858, of his excellent wife. His own release from the duties and sorrows of life took place January 27 of the present year. He was buried in the cemetery at Nunhead, and many of his literary and theological associates joined in the last offices of respect to his character and memory. He died in his 82nd year.

Although our own sympathies with Mr. Horne's religious opinions are limited, and our admiration of his theological labours much less than that expressed by his biographer, we feel an interest in his example, as one who raised himself from a very humble rank to usefulness and repute by unflinching industry and by a wise concentration of his intellectual powers, and we can pay to his character the tribute of respect for his sincerity of purpose, his amiability of temper, and, above all, his unmistakable religiousness of heart.

Lectures on Modern History, delivered in Oxford, 1859—61. By Goldwin Smith, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Oxford and London—Parker. 1861.

This volume, of which we have long designed a notice, is the rich fruit of the new statutes recently made by the Crown, on the recommendation of the Council, for the purpose of adapting the Professorship of Modern History to the present requirements of the University of Oxford. We cannot but feel gratitude to those who have advised the Sovereign in respect both to the chair and the appointment of the accomplished man who now so ably fills it. It is a very remarkable fact, that the scheme now being carried into execution was devised in the reign of the first George. Mr. Goldwin Smith conjectures that the merit of the scheme belongs to Sir Robert Walpole, and he well observes, that if he were "the real founder, if he even as Minister approved the foundation, it is a remarkable testimony from a political leader of a turn of mind practical to coarseness, and who had discarded the literary statesmen of the Somers and Halifax school, to the value of high political education as a qualification for the public service." The original scheme comprehended the appointment in each University of a chair of History, to which were to be attached two teachers of Modern Languages and twenty King's scholars. Subsequent regulations recognized International Law, Modern History and Political Biography, as the subjects on which the Professor of History was to treat. Now that Oxford has its Professors of Modern History, Political Economy, Diplomacy and the Modern Languages, we may hope to see the wise intentions of the founders of a school of Law and Modern History in our Universities fulfilled, and may venture to anticipate results of the highest value to the public service.

The addresses contained in the volume before us, valuable in themselves as the expressions of thought of a singularly able man, are peculiarly interesting as illustrations of the free and manly spirit in which

Mr. Goldwin Smith enters on his work. A work more interesting or more captivating to a wise and patriotic ambition it is not easy to conceive. The Professor of Modern History may without vanity indulge the hope that he will be permitted, by his instructions to the youth who resort to his class-room (amongst whom will be some of high social rank and rich intellectual promise), to mould the future policy of the statesmen of England, and through England to affect and advance the welfare of the world.

The portions of this volume which especially interest us are the two lectures on the Study of History, and a third on some Supposed Consequences of the Doctrine of Historical Progress. In the first lecture, he gives his reasons for hesitating to believe that history is governed by necessary laws. Starting with a declaration of his belief in the freedom of the human will, he grapples, and with great vigour, with the theory of M. Comte, that "the development of humanity is regulated by the progress of science through the successive stages of theological, metaphysical and positive." He takes the preliminary objection that the three terms used by M. Comte do not form a series, for sound (or positive) science and theology are in minds of the highest order not successive but co-existent. It is gratifying to find that, with a freedom of speculation and a boldness of utterance not often equalled, Mr. Goldwin Smith builds his theories on Christianity. He is, as an apostle of Progress, no teacher of a new doctrine. He denies that Christianity is opposed to Progress, and he challenges opponents to shew the contrary. The three elements of which human progress consists are virtue, science and industry. This is a trinity which Christianity does teach. Let us learn from Mr. Smith's own eloquent words what he conceives to be the great truth whence the philosophy of history springs:

"That truth is the moral unity of the human race; the softening down of mere dogmatic and ecclesiastical divisions between different parts of Christendom, the intercourse, the moral relation, the treaties and bonds ratified by common appeals to God, into which Christendom has entered with nations beyond its pale, have let in the conviction that virtue and truth, however they may vary in their measure, are in their essence the same everywhere, and everywhere divine. It may be that the growth of this conviction is a more potent cause of the change which we see passing over the face of the world than even the final decay, now visibly going on, of feudal institutions, and of the social system with which they are connected. Its consequences, to those who have imagined that the vital faith of man rests on ecclesiastical divisions, are not unattended with perplexity and dismay. But if the Churches of Hildebrand, Luther, and Calvin are passing away, above them rises that Church of pure religion and virtue to which in their controversies with each other they have all implicitly appealed, and which therefore is above them all. A certain man was hung by his enemies blindfold over what he supposed to be a precipice, with a rope in his hands; he clung till his sinews cracked, and he had tasted the bitterness of death; then, letting go the rope, he found that he had been hanging but half-a-foot from the ground.

"Moral discoveries are generally followed by exaggeration. The unity of the human race has been exaggerated into identity; and a strange vision has arisen of an aggregate humanity, of which each man is a manifestation and an organ, and into which we at death return; the difference between death and life being, that the one is an objective, the other a subjective existence. This wild realism is broached, singularly enough, by a school of thinkers who pour contempt on metaphysical articles. It is, in fact, part of a desperate attempt to satisfy the religious instincts of man and his sense of immortality,

when an irrational philosophy, discarding all sources of truth but the observation of the outward sense, has cut off the belief in the invisible world and God. Among the evidences of religion the fact that the blankest scientific atheism has been compelled to invent for itself a kind of divinity and a kind of spiritual world, and to borrow the worship of the Roman Catholic Church, will not hold the lowest place."—Pp. 51—53.

Against every kind of dogmatism our lecturer earnestly protests. In his view, the advances of the race in philosophy and science are the result of fearless intellectual conflict. The false hypothesis where mental freedom exists is rejected, and the process favours not only truth, but promotes man's capacity and his sense of the value of truth. How truly Christian and noble are the foundations of Mr. Smith's belief in man's progress is evidenced by these axioms, "that man has really been created in the image of God; that the morality of man points true, however remotely, to the morality of God; that human justice is identical with divine justice, and is therefore a real key to the history of the world."

We have seldom read anything bolder or finer than the warning which the Professor of Modern History gives to those who put their faith in the resisting powers of an Establishment when opposed to the progress of truth. The disciples of Mr. Mansel will feel the rebuke contained in the closing words of the passage:

"If the doctrines of any established Church are not absolute and final truth, its corporate interests are apt ultimately to come into collision with the moral instincts of man pressing onwards, in obedience to his conscience, towards the further knowledge of religious truth. Then arises a terrible conflict. To save their threatened dominion, the defenders of ecclesiastical interests use, while they can, the civil sword, and wage with that weapon contests which fill the world with worse than blood. They massacre, they burn, they torture, they drag human nature into depths of deliberate cruelty which, without their teaching, it could never have known; they train men, and not only men but women, to look on with pious joy while frames broken with the rack are borne from the dungeon of the Inquisition to its pile. Uniting intrigue with force, they creep to the ear of kings, of courtiers, of royal concubines; they consent, as the price of protection, to bless and sanctify despotism in its foulest form; they excite bloody wars of opinion against nations struggling to be free. Still, the day goes against them; humanity asserts its power; executioners fail; sovereigns discover that it little avails the king to rule the people if the Magian is to rule the king; public opinion sways the world, and the hour of Philip II., of Père la Chaise, of Madame De Maintenon, is gone never to return. Then follows a hopeless struggle for the last relics of religious protection, for exclusive political privileges, and for tests; a struggle in which religion is made to appear in the eyes of the people the constant enemy of improvement and of justice,—religion, from whom all true improvement and all true justice spring. This struggle, too, approaches its inevitable close. Then recourse is had, in the last resort, to intellectual intrigue, and the power of sophistry is invoked to place man in the dilemma between submission to an authority which has lost his allegiance and the utter abandonment of his belief in God—a desperate policy; for, placed between falsehood and the abyss, humanity has always had grace to choose the abyss, conscious as it is that to fly from falsehood, through whatever clouds and darkness, is to fly to the God of truth. In weighing the arguments put before us on these questions, let us not leave out of sight influences whose fatal power history has recorded in her bloodiest page."—Pp. 60—62.

The lecture on the Supposed Consequences of the Doctrine of Historical

Progress is one which deserves and will reward intelligent study. In it the Professor meets in the gate the plausible objection that the doctrine of historical progress is inconsistent with Christianity. The notion which prevails in some quarters that Christianity is expiring, that it has entered on its last phase and will presently disappear from the world, he traces to the reform now going on of Christian doctrine. He argues that many who are appealed to as proofs of the ability of the human mind to make progress without the help of Christianity, really prove the contrary. They have, perhaps unconsciously, derived their light from the revelation they profess to oppose.

"These apparent seceders from Christendom remain Christians in their whole view of the world, of God, of the human character and destinies; speak a language and appeal to principles and sympathies essentially Christian; draw their moral life from the Christendom which surrounds them; receive their wives at Christian altars, and bring up their children in the Christian faith. Many a great writer who is brought forward as a proof that the intellect of the age is Christian no longer, will be found, on examination, to have nothing in his writings which is not derived from a Christian source."—P. 8.

We would especially commend to notice Mr. Smith's wise and gentle criticism on Mr. Newman's objections to Christianity. Mr. Newman has somewhat rashly ventured to hold up as a rival to the character of the Saviour, the amiable Fletcher of Madely. Here is Mr. Smith's brief but satisfactory criticism on that folly:

"Fletcher's character was no doubt one of remarkable beauty, and certainly not wanting in righteous indignation against Pharisees. But being that of an Evangelical Divine, it was produced, not independently, but by a constant imitation of the Character of Christ. Mr. Newman should have gone elsewhere for an independent instance; to the School of Socrates, to the School of Roman Stoicism, to the Court and Camp of Bonaparte. He knows history too well."—P. 25.

And then the Professor continues the subject in these words:

"The truth is, that Sectarianism has narrowed not only the pale of Christianity, but the type of Christian character; and made men think of it as a rigid, austere, priestly, or puritanic mould, shutting out the varied grandeur, beauty, and beneficence of history: so that a schism has been produced between the consecrated type and the heart of man. There are in history a multitude of mixed characters, often of a very fascinating kind. In these we must separate the good from the evil before we pronounce that the good does not belong to Christianity."—Pp. 25, 26.

To the argument drawn from the anti-christian character of some eminent men who have favoured and helped human progress, Mr. Smith gives this answer:

"I admit that Voltaire and Rousseau, in spite of the fearful mischief which every rational man must admit them to have done, were contributors to human progress, but I deny that so far as they were contributors to human progress they were enemies to Christianity, or outcasts from the Christian pale. Voltaire contributed to human progress in spite of his unchristian levity, mockery, vanity, and obscenity, by preaching Christian beneficence, Christian toleration, Christian humanity, Christian hatred of Pharisaical oppression. Rousseau contributed to human progress in spite of his unchristian impurity, and the egotistical madness from which practical Christianity would have saved him, by preaching Christian brotherhood and Christian simplicity of life. Rousseau's writings are full of the Gospel.

His theory of the world is couched in distinctly Gospel language, and put into the mouth of a Christian minister. Voltaire railed against what he imagined was Christianity, but you see in a moment it was not the real Christianity; it was the Christianity of the false, corrupt, and persecuting State Church of France, the Christianity which recalled the Edict of Nantes, which inspired the Dragonades, which, in the abused name of the religion of love, murdered Calas and La Barre. Whom did Voltaire call the best of men? Of whom did he say, with an earnestness to which his nature was almost a stranger, that he loved them, and that, if he could, he would pass the rest of his life among them in a distant land? It was not the philosophers of Paris or Berlin of whom he spoke thus, but the Quakers, with whose sect, then in its happiest hour, he had come into contact during his residence in England, and whose benevolence, tolerance, and gentle virtues he recognizes as identical at once with those of the Primitive Christians and with his own." Pp. 28, 29.

To the allegation that Christianity interferes with the progress of science, Mr. Smith replies:

"As a matter of fact, science has not only been advanced, but for the most part created by Christians. A bigoted or cowardly theology has indeed created some confusion in the relations between science and religion, by attempting to dominate beyond its proper sphere; but the highest scientific minds have found no difficulty in keeping their own course clear, and preserving religious and moral Christianity, in spite of any imperfections in the scientific ideas of its teachers caused by their having lived in an unscientific age. That religious persecution has fearfully interfered with science, and every other kind of intellectual progress, both by its direct and its indirect effects, may be easily granted. But the tendency to persecution has historically been limited to countries in which certain vicious relations existed between religion and political power. If it has been found beyond these limits, it was as a lingering habit and in an expiring state."—Pp. 30, 31.

Looking at the aspects of European politics and changes, Mr. Goldwin Smith foresees the fall of the Papacy; and since he wrote, much has happened to confirm his prophecy. With the closing passage on this subject we bring to an end our series of instructive extracts:

"The Papacy will perish; and in it will perish the great obstacle to the reconciliation and re-union of Christendom. Nor will it perish alone. It will draw down with it in its fall, sooner or later, all those causes of division which have subsisted by mere antagonism to it, and many which it has kept alive by its direct, though unrecognised, influence over the rest of the ecclesiastical world. Then, if Christianity be true, there may, so far as the outward arrangements of the world are concerned, once more arise a Christendom, stripped indeed of much that is essential to religion in the eyes of polemical theologians, but as united, grand, and powerful, as capable of pervading with its spirit the whole frame of society, as fruitful of religious art and all other manifestations of religious life, as Christendom was before the great schism; but resting on the adamantine basis of free conviction, instead of the sandy foundation of human authority and tradition supported by political power. Those who imagine that such a consummation, if it come, must come with terrible convulsions and distress, do not consider that a great part of educated Europe has, in fact, for some time been united, and guided in the conduct of life and in all international and general relations, by a common Christianity. The world, as usual, has anticipated the results of speculation by tacitly solving a great practical problem for itself; and it has found that the brightness of the sunbeam resides in the sunbeam, not in the motes, and that the crystal floor of Heaven is not as unstable as water because it is as clear."—Pp. 46, 47.

Unitarian Christians called to bear Witness to the Truth: a Sermon, preached before the Supporters of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, at their Annual Meeting, in Essex-Street Chapel, June 11, 1862. By William Gaskell, M.A. Pp. 23. Whitfield.

In this Sermon, the eloquent preacher bears an emphatic testimony to the importance of the Unitarian doctrine. He grapples vigorously with many of the pleas for silence with which some men allow their consciences to be put to sleep. Because he believes that the work which Unitarians can do to be the "noblest to which human thought and effort can be given," he argues that we need not be deterred by such considerations as these: 1, that we have not infallible certainty respecting the truth of Unitarianism; 2, that it is easier to overthrow error by a process of secret sap than by open attack; 3, that we must avoid the spirit of sectarianism; 4, that the controversy which we have with the orthodox faith is not of sufficient moment to justify the costliness of the strife. This last topic introduces the preacher to the characteristics of the prevalent Christianity. He handles it with a vigour and an earnest truthfulness never surpassed by any of our Unitarian advocates. The Sermon is published by the Association at a very cheap rate, and is designed as one of the tracts which they intend for popular circulation. We welcome it as a most effective silent missionary, and commend it to all Unitarians, first for themselves, to rebuke indifference and religious sloth, and to inspire a becoming zeal in their minds for Christian truth; and next for distribution amongst their neighbours, that they may rightly know what Unitarianism is, and what claims it has to supersede much that now wrongfully passes as pure Christianity.

We will not attempt to select passages for quotation, because if we began we should scarcely know where to stop, and also because the Sermon may be so easily obtained (as we hope it will) by all our readers.

INTELLIGENCE.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH.

Meeting at Exeter.—The annual assembly of Dissenting ministers meeting at Exeter, which dates its beginning back as far as 1655, was held on the 25th June last. The introductory religious service was conducted by Rev. W. Chignell, the recently-elected minister of George's meeting; the sermon was preached by Rev. J. B. Lloyd, of Moreton Hampstead, very suitably inculcating the duty of free inquiry and dispassionate investigation. The usual business of the assembly was transacted in the vestry, in which the writer of this notice remembers having received religious instruction more than sixty years ago from Rev. Timothy Kenrick in *Practical Instructions*. Several small sums were disbursed to the ministers of congregations who had less than £50 a-year. A discussion took place as to Sir M. Peto's Bill on the Parish Grounds, on which a majority carried a petition. Rev. W. Rowlinson acted as moderator. The customary dinner was provided, Rev. B. Mardon presiding. The aged son of the former Exeter minister, Rev. John Manning, whose name speaks for itself, obliged the company with his presence. The proceedings passed off with entire harmony, and it is believed with mutual satisfaction. Mr. Chignell was received into cordial intimacy with his brother Unitarians.—B. M.

The Warwickshire Unitarian Christian Tract Society held its fifty-sixth annual general meeting at Kingswood, near Birmingham, July 15, when the religious service was introduced by the Rev. Charles Clarke, of Birmingham, and a very impressive sermon preached by the Rev. Rees Lewis Lloyd, of Belper, from Psalm iv. 4, "Commune with your own heart." After the service and usual business meeting, the members and friends of the Society, more than 50 in number, dined together in the adjoining school-room, under the continued able presidency of Alderman James Baldwin, who had conducted the

business of the previous meeting, when special acknowledgments were offered to Mr. Edwin T. Greves for the very kind and efficient services which, in various ways, he had rendered to the meeting.

The Kent and Sussex Unitarian Christian Association held its "jubilee," or fiftieth anniversary, at Tenterden, July 16. There was an unusually large attendance, friends being present from Maidstone, Dover, Chatham, Headcorn, Battle, Cranbrook, &c. The introductory services were conducted by Rev. R. E. B. Maclellan, of Maidstone; after which an eloquent and appropriate sermon was delivered by Rev. John Page Hopps, of Sheffield. After service, above a hundred ladies and gentlemen dined together in the Concert Hall, under the kind and able presidency of Rev. Edward Talbot. When the cloth had been removed, and the usual patriotic and denominational sentiments had been proposed, Mr. Maclellan, the Secretary of the Association, read the annual report. That document gave an account, taken chiefly from the *Monthly Repository* of the period, of the formation of the Society at Northiam, in Sussex, on the 20th of October, 1812; and, by extracts from the resolutions then adopted, and from the sermon delivered on that occasion by Rev. Laurence Holden, of Tenterden, shewed that the leading object of the Association was to introduce the Unitarian exposition of the gospel to districts and towns where it was previously unknown. It narrated how at various times this object had been sought to be attained, by preaching, by the distribution of tracts, and especially by the employment of a missionary in the county during the four years 1822-6. The report went on to state that on the 27th of May last, a meeting of Presbyterian and General Baptist ministers and laymen had been held at Headcorn, to consider the desirableness and practicability of again securing the services of a missionary, and that, as one immediate result, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association had made the generous offer of £75 per annum for that purpose, provided whatever more might be needful were raised in the county. In moving the adoption of the report, the Secretary urged strongly on the members present the duty, even though it involved great pecuniary sacrifices, of engaging in missionary work.—Various interesting and important sentiments were proposed from the chair with suitable prefaces, which drew forth stirring addresses from Revds. J. P. Hopps, R. E. B. Maclellan, J. A. Briggs and T. B. W. Briggs; while suggestions of value and encouragement were made by Mr. Charles Ellis, Jun., of Maidstone (the Treasurer of the Association), Messrs. Munn and J. E. Mace, of Tenterden, and other lay friends. It was a pleasing feature of this anniversary that not only the religious services at the venerable Presbyterian chapel, but the festive meeting also, were favoured with the presence of Rev. Mr. Palmer, the Wesleyan Superintendent of the district, and Rev. Mr. Moss, the minister of the Calvinistic Baptist chapel at Tenterden, the latter of whom addressed the company in a liberal and kindly spirit, though not concealing his want of sympathy with Unitarian theology. This meeting was altogether one of the most successful which has been held within the last twenty years, and we have little doubt, from the zeal which was enkindled, that the necessary sum will be raised in the county to enable the Association to avail itself of the noble offer of its Parent in London.—R. E. B. M.

OBITUARY.

June 22, on the anniversary of his 85th birthday, Robert Madge, Esq., of Copplestone. From the early age of thirteen until a few weeks of his death, he was a regular and consistent worshiper at the Bowden-Hill chapel, Crediton, and for many years past its most valuable member and chief supporter. Having commenced life with an ample fortune, he had large means for usefulness. Nor did he fall short of their use, for every religious, educational and humane institution received his willing support. He was fond of retirement, and made no ostentatious show of his wealth. Most of his beneficent acts were unknown; he gave to all in the simplicity of his heart whenever and wherever distress presented itself. He was deeply attached to the English Presbyterian form of worship as conducted at the Bowden-Hill chapel. Though his residence was nearly five miles from it, he never neglected its Sabbath-morning worship. No weather, however severe, kept him from it. He invariably took the journey on horseback, and was therefore exposed to the elements. As his infirmities increased, it was with great difficulty that he could reach his wonted house of prayer. With trembling knees, leaning on his staff, he continued to worship until within a few weeks of his death. His long, consistent, lowly and Christian life well prepared him for his change. He bore his sickness with great

calmness, patience and resignation, and a few days before his death expressed his gratitude to the All-wise Disposer of all things for the many and valuable blessings which had fallen to his lot, adding that he had received his spiritual strength and joy from the gospel as preached at Bowden-Hill chapel. He was attached to the ministry of the present minister, whose successful exertions in resuscitating the cause gave him great satisfaction, and encouraged him to look with hopefulness on the future, which before had to him a doubtful aspect. He has happily provided means for its sustentation, and it is to be hoped that his good example will stimulate others to follow in his footsteps. Of him it may be truly said, "Here is the patience of the saint, here is he that kept the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus." "Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth : yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours ; their works do follow them." On the Sabbath subsequent to his death, his funeral sermon was preached to a large and respectable audience by the Rev. Jas. Taplin from Job v. 26, "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in his season."

June 26, ELIZA, aged 2 years and 9 months—July 10, EMMA, aged 1 year and 5 months, the beloved children of Mr. Henry TAYLOR, Elm Terrace, Sale, Cheshire.

July 8, in his 81st year, JOHN TINGCOMBE, Esq., of Greenwich. Descended from one of the Two Thousand ministers (there were indeed three of that name among them, then written Tincombe), who, in the year 1662, made such a noble sacrifice of interest to principle, he inherited, and through his long life zealously adhered to, the profession and practice of Nonconformity. He was devout, pious, a firm Unitarian and decided advocate of civil and religious liberty. He was one of the few surviving pupils of Dr. Estlin, of Bristol, so well known formerly in the West of England. In his early life, he succeeded his father as a partner in the banking-house of Sir W. Elford and Co. at Plymouth, which was one of the first firms that succumbed in the disastrous year of 1825. Deprived by this event of his property, he never resumed business, but lived with a dear sister who was attached to the same cause, and who attained to almost the same age as he did. His three daughters were with him when he died, to whom he said, "We shall meet again in the kingdom of heaven." W. W.

July 16, at his residence, Godley Vale, near Hyde, in his 77th year, after a long period of gradually declining health, ALEXANDER WYLDE THORNELY, Esq.

Our pages have recently recorded the departure of the late Mr. Thomas Thornely, of Liverpool. We now have to record the death of his relative and friend. Mr. A. W. Thornely achieved for himself in his native place an honourable position as one of the many skilful and successful manufacturers in the great staple trade of the district. He was a man widely known both in that part of Cheshire in which his whole life was spent, and on the Exchange of Manchester. As a manufacturer and merchant, he was respected for promptitude, skill and unswerving integrity. They who had dealings with him knew that his word was always truthful and his conduct straightforward. His personal characteristics made him widely loved. There was in him a pleasant and not common admixture of simplicity and shrewdness. The simplicity had in it no element of folly, and the shrewdness was not debased by cunning. To the later periods of his life, his feelings were beautifully fresh and had all the tenderness of childhood. He was through life a zealous member of the Old Presbyterian congregation worshiping at Gee Cross. The religion there taught under successive pastors (all of whom were his warmly-attached personal friends *) suited alike his good sense and his love of what was practical and charitable. From bigotry of every kind he turned away with instinctive aversion. He took a leading part in the rebuilding and renovation of the chapel and schools at Gee Cross, sparing neither money nor (when health and strength permitted) personal toil in making these buildings worthy of the objects for which they were raised. In the ground by the beautiful chapel which he helped to build, and near the spot where for more than seventy years he was a regular worshiper, his remains were interred. He leaves a widow, a son and daughter, and numerous grandchildren, who will ever cherish his memory with the tenderest affection.

July 18, at Sandbrook, Upholland, near Wigan, aged 63, MARY, widow of the late Nathan GASKELL, Esq.

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* His last act as a member of the Gee-Cross congregation was to sign the Address to Rev. Charles Beard, expressive of affection and respect and gratitude for the continuance of the services which the congregation so highly valued.